



+ H. O'Callaghan
S. Silvestro in Capite.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

A BABYLONIAN DOWER-CONTRACT.

ONCE more, as in the early numbers of the *Record* and elsewhere, we bring before the reader a scene of Babylonian life during the time of the later Babylonian empire, and this time it is again a translation connected with a "dower-contract." In former papers of a like nature¹ translations of various tablets referring to incidents probably of common occurrence amongst these ancient people, and which help us to realize what life among the Babylonians and Assyrians really was, have been placed before the reader. These may, indeed, be regarded as sketches from the very life, bringing the reader face to face, as it were, with these people, enabling him better to understand their ways, their thoughts and feelings even. Of course it is more especially with the peace-loving Babylonians that we have, in these documents, been brought into contact; and we have been enabled to judge of their intelligence, their common sense, their justice, their dutifulness,² their law-abiding nature, and their fairness toward each other. To study, from the documents they have left behind, the character of this most ancient nation, is most interesting work. Although we must allow, that it would at times be a most desirable "giftie" to "see ourself as ithers see us," yet it may be regarded as a thing of equal importance that we should also be seen by others as we see ourselves—and, moreover, that we should also see others as *they* see themselves. What an excellent thing it would be for the prevention of misunderstandings. The Babylonians have been lucky enough to leave behind them imperishable records, which, patiently and carefully read in these latter days, bring them again prominently and faithfully before us; and which (multiplied by means of that art of printing which, in a different form, they themselves had begun, at an exceedingly early age, to use, but of which they, strangely enough, missed the importance, and failed to develope) are now practically indestructible³ by any earthly means.

The text now printed and explained is inscribed on a baked clay tablet 2 in. and $\frac{3}{4}$ high by 3 in. and $\frac{1}{2}$ long. It is fairly and clearly written, in a Babylonian business-hand, similar to that of a great many others. There is one point that is well worth noting in connexion with this tablet, and that is, that the surface seems to have been tampered with, and that there are certain well-defined scratches round the edges. Judging from these indications, it is almost certain that at least one mould was taken from the tablet before it was acquired by the British Museum, and it is possible, therefore, that reproductions of it exist, and may be offered for sale to the public as originals.

Besides these outward marks of modern date, there are certain internal indications which must not be altogether overlooked, as they will help us to understand portions of the text which would otherwise give many difficulties. These indications belong to the text itself. First, it is to be noted that the document, important as it is, does not bear a single seal-impression. The probability is, therefore, that the text which we now have, is an ancient copy, made shortly after the transaction which it records was completed. We know from the tablets themselves (see the *B. & O. Report* for April, pp. 84—85) that it was the custom, when a contract was made, to write several copies, and give them to the parties interested: and we actually have in the British Museum several copies of this kind which are almost as valuable as the original. In many instances, however, the copies, on examination, are found to be carelessly written, and at times, even mistakes are met with. This is the case with the document now under consideration. Not only is there a character left out, but a whole word seems, in one part, to be transposed. These and other inconsistencies will be pointed out in the notes.

As the text is of a defective nature I here depart from my custom of giving a *précis* of the contents beforehand. Besides the text in wedge-writing, however, I give, as usual, a transcription, a literal translation, and, following the notes, a free translation. Restorations, giving the characters which probably stood in the places where the original is defective, are, as usual, indicated by outline-type.

TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1 D.P.P. Mar-duk-na-şir-âblu, mâru ša Itti-Mar-duk-balaţu, mâr E-[gi-bi]
 2 ina ħu-ud lib-bi-šu, zêrû, zak-pi û me-ri-šu, ša ina bêt D.P. rab-ka-şir
 3 ša ina muĥĥi nâr Tu-pa-šu, zitti-šu, ša it-ti âĥê-šu
 4 D.P.P. Dâan-bêl-ûşur, D.P.P. Na-na-bêl-ûşri, D.P.P. Za-ga-ga-iddina
 5 D.P.P. Dâan-iddina Bêl-gab-bi-Bêl-um-ma, A-ĥu-şu-nu
 6 [naphariş] irbit mârâni-šu D.P. a-ĥat-şu-nu u D.P. 'a-aş-da-a-a-i-tu^m
 [mârâti-şu
 7 u D.P. Ka-şir-tum ik-nu-uk-ku-na ku-nu şelaşâa ma-na
 8 kaspi piş-u, şanê mana ĥuraşi, ĥamşit ma-na kaspi ħu-lu
 9 u si-me-ri, ku-nu Nabû-itti-ia û
 10 D.P.P. Na-na-a-ki-li-li-âĥa, âmelu-tu, nu-dun-nu-u
 11 ša D.P. Âmat-D.P.Ka, ša D.P.P. Mar-duk-naşir-âblu a-na
 12 kaspi id-di-in, D.P.P. Mar-duk-naşir-âblu a-na D.P. Âmat-D.P. Ka
 13 mârti ša Kal-ba-a, mâr Na-ba-a-a id-di-in.

REVERSE.

- 1 [D.P. Mu-kin-nu :] Mu-ra-şu-u, mâru šu Nabû-âĥê-iddi-na
 2 [mâr] Ur-u-tu : Iddin-Bêl, mâru ša Bêl-âĥê-iki-ša,
 3 mâr Sak-di-di : Kal-ba-a, mâru ša Nabû-âĥê-iddina,
 4 mâr E-gi-bi ; Ri-nu-ut-Bêl, mâru ša Ârdi-ia,
 5 mâr \Rightarrow kinu : U-bar, mâru ša Ina-êşi-êdir, mar Şa-na-bi-şi-şu :
 6 U-bar, mâru ša Ârad-Bêl, mar Êp-eş-ilu ;
 7 Bêli-şu-nu, mâru ša Lub-lu-uţ' mâr E-de-ru ;
 8 Lub-lu-uţ, mâru ša Itti-Mar-duk-balaţu, mâr E-gi-bi ;
 9 Lub-lu-uţ mâru ša I-ħu-bu, mâr Si-si-i ;
 10 Bêl-it-tan-nu, dup-şarru, mâru ša Nabû-âĥi-şu,
 11 mâr \Rightarrow sangû D.P. Idim, Bâbilu D.S., âraĥ Simanni ûmu ĥamşu
 12 şattu [şišşêşrit] Da-a-ri-ia-muş, şir Bâbili
 13 u mâtâti.

TRANSLATION.

- 1 Mar-duk-naşir âblu, son of Itti-Mar-duk-balaţu, son of Êgibi,
 2 in the joy of his heart, a cornfield, planted and tilled, which is by
 the house of the Rab-kaşir,
 3 which is over the river Tu-pa-şu, his property, which with his brothers
 4 Dâan-bêl-ûşur, Nana-bêl-ûşri, Zagaga-iddina,
 5 Dâan-iddina, Bêl-gabbi-bêlumma, Aĥu-şunu,
 6 altogether 4, his sons, their sister, and Ĥaşlâaitu^m, his daughters,
 7 and Kaşirtu^m he has sealed; instead of 30 mana
 8 of white silver, 2 mana of gold, 5 mana of refined silver
 9 and a ring; instead of Nabû-ittia and
 10 Nana-kilili-âĥa, slaves, the dowry
 11 of Âmat-Ka, which Mar-duk-naşir-âblu for
 12 the money has given, Mar-duk-naşir-âblu to Âmat-Ka
 13 daughter of Kalbâ, son of Nabâia has given.

REVERSE.

- 1 Witnesses: Murašû, son of Nabû-âhê-iddina,
- 2 son of Urutu: Iddin-Bêl, son of Bêl-âhê-ikiša:
- 3 son of Sakdidi; Kalbâ, son of Nabû-âhê-iddina,
- 4 son of Êgîbi; Rêmut-Bêl, son of Ârdia,
- 5 son of the *kima*: Ubar, son of In-êši-êlir, son of Šurabšêri:
- 6 Ubar, son of Ârad-Bêl, son of Êpeš-ilu:
- 7 Bêli-šunu, son of Lubluṭ, son of Êderu:
- 8 Lubluṭ, son of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, son of Êgîbi,
- 9 Lubluṭ, son of Iḫubu, son of Sîsi;
- 10 Bêl-ittanu, the scribe, son of Nabû-âhî-šu,
- 11 son of the priest of Ea, Babylon, month Šivan, day 5th,
- 12 year 16th, Darius, king of Babylon
- 13 and countries.

NOTES.




1) "Glimpses of Babylonian and Assyrian Life", (pp. 119, 137, & 145), also the "Slave-apprenticeship" tablets (p. 81), and the revised translation of a dower-contract published by me in 1880 (p. 144).

2) See the article in the New-York *Independent* for Oct. 13th, 1887, entitled "An old Babylonian Will," (p. 6).

3) One can hardly help regarding it as strange that the Babylonians, who were exceedingly fair wood-engravers at least 2500 B. C., topped short at stamping bricks for building. The next step, to apply this system to reproducing tablets, seems not to have entered their heads.



OVERSE.



Line 1. The restoration of the name Êgîbi at the end of the line is in accordance with the spelling of the same name in l. 4, &c., of the reverse.

Line 2. For   = zêrû, see W. A. I. II., pl. 16, l. 33 *cf* (the second character, however, is there wrongly printed .

Mêrišu comes from the root *êrêšu*, "to plant," "to till the ground." The restoration of the character for "house" accords with the traces to be seen in the original. *Rab-kašir* apparently means "chief of a band of soldiers."

Line 3. *Ṭupašu*, a river or canal, probably near or in Babylon.

For   = zîttu, see W. A. I. II., pl. 40, l. 51 *gh*.

Line 4. In the second name (that of *Nana-bêl-âsrî*, the character  seems to be left out after the second . Compare l. 10, where a name compounded with *Nanâ* also occurs.

Line 5. *Bêl-gabbi-bêlumma*, a name of rather peculiar construction, apparently meaning "the Lord of all is lord." For the ending *-umma* with the force of the verb "to be" compare Haupt's "Keilschrifttexte," p. 124, *êrib šu šalnumma*, "his raven (?) is black." *êrib šu pišumma*

Line 11. The character 𒀭𒍪 𒍪 may designate either Bel or Êa (Aê) --- the latter being, in this case, the more probable.

In the notes given above it has been pointed out, that the scribe who copied this text has, to all appearance, made certain errors, by which the sense is misrepresented. In order to make the matter clear, I reproduce the passage here, to enable the reader to see how it runs in the original:—

... 𒀭𒍪 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 | 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭
 𒀭𒍪 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 | 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭
 | 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 | 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 | 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭
 𒀭𒍪 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 | 𒍪𒀭
 𒀭𒍪 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭 𒍪𒀭

"... his property, which with his *brothers* Dāan-bél-ûṣri, Zagaga-iddina, Dāan-iddina, Bêl-gabbi-bêlumma, Âḥu-šunu—altogether *four*, his *sons*, their *sister*, and *Hašdâ-aitu* his *daughters* and *Kaširtu*, he has sealed."

On the face of it, the passage is corrupt. Why, for instance, should "his sons, their sister," be mentioned side by side with "his daughters"? His sons' sister would herself be "his daughter." But the omission of the character *a* in the name Nanā-bêl-naṣri, and the summation of "four" instead of "five," at once stamp the passage as incorrectly reproduced. The incorrectness of the wording may be easily explained if we suppose the tablet to have been written from dictation. We can easily imagine the scribe, not thoroughly understanding what the reader was saying, questioning him, and thus introducing additional liability to error.

I give herewith a conjectural restoration of the passage literally translated above (Obv. ll. 3--7):—

... Zitti-šu, ša it-ti âḥê-šu, Dāan-bêl-ûṣur, Na-na-a-bêl-ûṣri, Za-ga-ga-iddina, Bêl-gab-bi-bêl-nu-ma, Âḥu-šu-nu, [naphariš] ḥaššu, âḥê-šu, a-ḥat-se-nu, u Ha-a-š-da-a-a-i-tu^m u Ka-šir-tu^m, mārāti-šu, ik-nu-uk-ku-ma ...

The following is a free rendering of the essential portion of the contract, introducing the conjectural emendation given above:—

"Marduk-naṣir-ablu, son of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu son of Êgibi, has, in the joy of his heart, with his brothers, Dāan-bêl-ûṣur, Nanā-bêl-ûṣir, Zagaga-iddina, Dāan-iddina, Bêl-gabbi-bêlumma, and Âḥu-šunu—in al-ṣ, his brothers, and their sister, and Hašdâaitu^m and Kaširtu^m, his daughters, sealed a cornfield, planted and tilled, which is by the house of the Rab-kašir, which is over the river Ṭupašu, his property, and instead of 30 mana of white silver, 2 mana of gold, 5 mana of refined silver, and a ring, and instead of Nabû-ittia and Nanā-kilili-âḥa, slaves, the dowry of Âmat-Ka, which Marduk-naṣir-

âblu for the money has given—Marduk-našir-âblu has given (the above-named cornfield) to Âmat-Ka, daughter of Kalbâ, son of Nabâa.’

The nature of the transaction is not altogether easy to grasp, but it seems to be this: Âmat-Ka, a lady of whose position we have no information, had received, possibly from the different persons mentioned in the deed, various things—to wit, 35 mana of silver in two distinct sums, 2 mana of gold, a ring, and two slaves as contributions towards that (to her) most needful thing, a dowry. With the consent of all parties concerned, however, Marduk-našir-âblu sets aside for her “a cornfield, planted and tilled, beside the river Ṭupašu,” in consideration of his being allowed to take the money, the ring, and the two slaves as payment. There is hardly a doubt that such an exchange was highly beneficial to the future prospects of Âmat-Ka, as landed property was then, as now, by far the safest investment, and, as long as the owner lived, she could never be in want. It is, of course, not at all unlikely that all the parties who thus seem to have taken so great an interest in the lady were related to her.

A former translation of the text, prepared by me in 1885, is published in the *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon*, p. 113, No. 89. The date of the transaction is about 504 B. C.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

MAN-HAN-SI FAN-TSYEH-YAO,¹

A BUDDHIST REPERTORY

IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE work we present to the public is a nomenclature of Buddhist terms and ideas, arranged methodically, by categories, and presenting an extended tableau of all the notions familiar to the sectaries of Cākyaṃuni. It is translated into four languages as the sub-title indicates. The *Man-han si-jan tsyeh Yao*, of which a copy was sent by Father Amiot, was, according to ocular witnesses,² composed in the very palace of K’ang-hi and under his eyes. The design of this composition was entirely practical: it concerned itself with furnishing the explanations necessary to the subjects of the Middle Kingdom, who had relations with Tibet and its priestly hierarchy. As that formed at the same time a directing and governing class, it was of the highest importance that the employées and citizens of the Empire should know the exact meaning of the religious terminology of the country of the Lamas. Each part of the vocabulary has been composed by savants of the nationality to which the language employed belonged, Han-

lins for the Chinese terms, Tibetan doctors sent at the request of the emperor for Tibetan, Manchu and Mongol literati for those two idioms. The literati of the Si-fan were commissioned to overlook the whole work.

The fundamental text is naturally the Sanscrit; it ought to have been for a very long time in the possession of the Lamas. Perhaps it dates as far back as the first days of the Buddhist prophecies. It is written in Tibetan letters, while to transcribe it, as for every similar text, they have had to create certain particular signs to represent sounds unknown to the Tibetan language. These transcriptions are very interesting, as they indicate to us exactly enough the pronunciation of the Sanscrit letters in India about the eighth century. The cerebrals and linguals are also written by means of dentals turned backwards *sh* for *ç* likewise turned backwards. The soft aspirates are rendered by the simple lenis and an *h*; ³ *âi* and *âu* by the redoubled signs *ê* and *ô*.

In the *Mélanges Asiatiques*,⁴ Abel Remusat speaks of the contents and the nature of this dictionary. He has correctly estimated its importance: "It is," he tells us, "a sort of encyclopedic collection, which enables one to judge, better than a dissertation, of the manner in which a people look upon objects and class its ideas. A commentary of this kind should be a complete treatise of the religion of Fo." He establishes elsewhere an authentic synonymy of the deepest interest between the proper names and the peculiar philosophical expressions of this worship and the expressions and names of the original Sanscrit.

In this short dissertation the Sinologist scholar expresses two ideas to which we wish to give prominence because they constitute two errors which could mislead those who would allow themselves to be guided by them. "I have obtained some proof," he says, "indeed, that the same nuances of the Sanscrit pronunciation were faithfully observed there."⁵ That is not so unfortunately, or if it is so really, the Sanscrit spoken by the exporters of Buddhism to the other side of the Himalayas differed very much from classical Sanscrit. The truth is, it seems to me, that the Tibetan transcription is frequently faulty; in many a place it has to be corrected and the Sanscrit forms re-established, as we shall observe in the course of the work.

And farther on, Remusat adds: "The Sanscrit which it contains is curious in this, that it differs in many points from the language such as we find it in the ordinary books; it presents, for instance, some roots most certainly Sanscrit, which have passed into the derived dialects, and which appear to be lost in the ancient language. This peculiarity, which gives a new value to our vocabulary, may be attributed to the high antiquity of the Indian dialect which it preserves to us. It is

assuredly the language in use at the time of the great emigration of the Buddhists..."⁶

Such as it is presented by the Sinologist scholar, this observation is likewise inexact. Our nomenclature contains some Sanscrit words which our dictionaries do not give us at all : this is true and we shall see it in more than one section; but that there should be any roots foreign to the known Sanscrit, is what I should not dare to maintain.

Remusat has found there, in the same manner, some suffixes, some lexicographical forms which our most complete grammars do not point out, e. g., the suffixes *mva*, *tra*, of many words. But yet here he has been mistaken on his part. The Tibetan final *ra* is perfectly similar to the Sanscrit *vivāma* \ ; it results from that *lōkavit*, e. g., and *lōkavitra* are written exactly in the same manner, and Remusat has taken the one for the other. Father Amiot had thought of undertaking a translation of our book, but the difficulties which he met made him immediately renounce the intention. Besides, he does not seem to have been aware of the existence of the Sanscrit text, and had taken it for the Tibetan. Abel Remusat wished to undertake this task, and to give a complete commentary on the work. He was likewise arrested in front of the obstacles. We can understand this without difficulty. Remusat did not know Sanscrit, and so, on the other hand, Buddhist studies were only just commencing ; an adequate explanation of these thousands of terms was then absolutely impossible. Thus Remusat was obliged to content himself with giving an index of the 71 chapters of the book, a description of the first, that of the Sanscrit of some other sections, with some observations on the other versions. That was even a difficult work, and remarkable for the age. But unfortunately, within its narrow limits, it abounded in mistakes which would no longer be committed at the present day. Faults of transcription, of interpretation, erroneous notes, &c., are to be met in considerable numbers, and render the use of his work little certain and often dangerous. The Chinese even is frequently translated inexactly, and that had given occasion for these mistakes.⁷ It was not, therefore, useless to take up again the task and to give to the public a complete acquaintance with this vocabulary. But one could not think of re-editing the text itself. A complete transcription even would not appear desirable, any more than the integral translation of the five parallel columns.

Sanscrit is, it is true, the only text properly original and primitive; but the Tibetan of it is often and ordinarily the complement and the necessary explanation. We shall give both one and the other in their entirety.

The three Mandchu, Mongol and Chinese versions do not demand a reproduction nor a complete interpretation. They present, however,

in many passages a real interest, insomuch as they testify to the ideas of their authors, their manner of conceiving the Buddhist notions, the understanding which they had of Sanscrit. In their collection, they form a page of the history of Buddhism in the Chinese empire, and from this claim they cannot be neglected. I shall give here what of them may be useful in the matter.

Did the Sanscrit text exist separately and anterior to this collection? or has it rather been composed to form the base of it? Is this an original work or a simple lexicographical extract made solely to constitute the manual for Chinese functionaries? I have already expressed my feeling on that point. It would be difficult for me to admit that the Tibetan-Chinese literati could have been capable of making a collection of this kind; it necessitates, it seems to me, the work of a Hindu, well versed in his religion, and supposes consequently an already ancient edition.

The translations testify among their authors to a knowledge of Sanscrit which was not purely experienced and traditional. This is true especially of the transcription and etymological explanations. That is how we see them explain the proper name *Kuru* as derived from the root *ru* "to make a noise, to resound," and the prefix *ku* indicating a bad, inferior, nature.

The principal merit of this little work is in the reunion of those numerous notions which form an almost complete *exposé* of the Buddhist ideas, and which we could not find in any other place. It is that which recommends it to the attention of our readers.

It should be observed that the title of the book makes no mention either of the Sanscrit text or of the Mongol version. This arises from the fact that only three writings are employed in the work, the Tibetan serving for the Sanscrit, and the Mongol characters being nearly identical with the Mandchu letters. I scarcely believe in the supposition of A. Remusat, that those to whom this denomination can be attributed have not suspected the existence of Sanscrit and Mongol words. They have not sought to represent exactly the work in the title, since the Tibetan writing is the first in the nomenclature, and as so, it figures in the title (*si-fan*). It is an abridged title in which they have preserved the ordinary formula *man-han*, of all the titles of Chinese-Manchu works.

Our *répertoire* is divided into two books; the first comprises 433 expressions under 35 chapters; and the second 563 under 36 sections. The first has 98 and the second 96 pages. It is a beautiful little folio work of a very handsome appearance. I only know of two copies of it, the one in the national library of Paris, the other in the library of MM. Maisonneuve and Charles Leclerc, who have lent it to me with their usual kindness.

A remarkable thing is that the titles of the chapters are only written in Tibetan, Mandchu, Mongol and Chinese. There is no Sanscrit text. The editors of the nomenclature have supplied it in a manner which shows a real understanding of the matter.

Our collection does not bear the names of any authors, the labour of its editors was not important enough to append their names to their work. It would have been very difficult, besides, to assign to each one his part. That would still prove that the Sanscrit text existed anterior to this.

The *Tsieh Yao* is not confined to religious ideas; it comprehends likewise a philosophical terminology, even having a reference to the things of nature. Two long chapters are devoted to the functions of men and the position of the body. We shall give them here likewise, but without dwelling on them, as much to be complete as for the sake of the words known or unknown which they conceal. Some such pages will doubtless not appear useless, and our readers will not regret them.

Let me remark in the last place, to explain different terms and titles of Buddha, without needing to repeat ourselves often, that the Buddhists delighted to apply to their Sacred Man the qualifications the most used as titles of glory, in the Sanscrit literature, the most laudatory expressions of the Sanscrit tongue. This applies especially to the first section.

The four groups of translators do not seem to have laboured in concert, and their works appear quite independant of each other, for in many cases their interpretations differ completely; they do not seem even to have always read the text in the same fashion. Thus one has read *śvara*, while another reads *scara*, and a third *sva-ni*.

The Mongol translation presents few peculiarities. And there will also be rarely an opportunity of quoting it.

It will be remarked that the Chinese terms are frequently other than the various expressions collected by Eitel in his *Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, just as the Sanscrit text differs frequently from that which Léon Feer and other authors give us in their learned works.

The translation of the Tibetan adopted in this work is in general that which Jæschke has followed in his Tibetan-English dictionary. But I believe there ought to be substituted \bar{n} for *ny* for **३**; ' for initial *o* of a word, and *h* for \prec initial of suffixes; \bar{c} and \bar{j} have appeared to me sufficient for *c* and *j*, and *c'* for 'c'.

To avoid enlarging the explanatory notes beyond measure, and not to occupy a too great place in the columns of the *Record*, I shall confine myself to quoting here in a group the works put into contribution for the explanation of Buddhist terms contained in the Pentaglotte Vocabulary, and which our readers may likewise consult.

- B. Hodgson.* Sketch of Buddhism, derived from the Buddhist scriptures of Nepál (trans. of Roy. As. Soc., vol ii., p. 222 ff.)
- Quotation from original Sanscrit authorities (Jour. of the As. Soc. of Bengal vol. pp., 91, ff.)
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NOTES.

- 1) Mémoire concernant les Chinois, t. xi, p. 516, 517.
- 2) Litt. Principes résumés en mandchou-Chinois et Tибетain. (See end of introduction).
- 3) Which proves that the soft breathings, themselves even were aspirates.
- 4) Vol. i., p. 193 and ff.
- 5) Ibid., p. 157.
- 6) Op. lit., p. 156 *initio*.
- 7) Thus, for the word *Sārtharāka*, “who walk in a band,” contain the name of the people Sartha. *Lokavit* is *lokavitra*, &c. &c.

 INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO BELSHAZZAR.

THE decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has been the means of removing or explaining a very large number of obscure points in Hebrew history. There are still, however, several which remain unexplained, and await the results of further discoveries.

It is upon one of these points that I hope to throw some light, by means of the inscriptions which form the subject of this paper.

The exact position of Belshazzar, who is thrice distinctly called “King” by the writer of the Book of Daniel (v. 1, vii. 1, viii. 1), is a subject upon which any fresh light that may be obtained from the monuments of the period will be welcomed by all students of the history of the epoch of the Babylonian captivity.

Hitherto, the only monumental record of this prince has been found in the cylinder inscription of his father, which was discovered in the ruins of the temple of the Moon-god at Mughier (Ur of the Chaldees), the text of which has long been known (W.A.I. I, 68, Col. II., 24—31): “And for Bel-sarra-utsur, my first-born son (*abal-ristu*), the offspring of my heart. The fear of thy mighty divinity cause thou to dwell (*Suskin*) in his heart, may he not be given to sin and favour not untruth.” Short as this passage is, there are some points of special interest in it, which call for notice. Nabonidus here speaks of Belshazzar as his first born son, an expression which implies the existence of other sons, a supposition which is confirmed by monuments of a later date. In the Behistun inscription of Dahius Hystaspes we have mention made of two pretenders to the throne of Babylon, both of whom claimed to be Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nabonidus—a claim which would hardly have produced such a revolt in Babylonia, had not the existence of this prince been well known to the Babylonians themselves. To both of the rebels Arakhu. (𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎧) and Nidin-tum-Bel (𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎧) are said by Darius to have claimed that they were sons of Nabonidus. *Sa iprutsa umma unaku Naou-kudurra-utsur abil Nabu-naid*. So that there is

little doubt the Nabonidus had a second son besides Belshazzar named Nebuchadnezzar after his great predecessor, the son of Nabupalassar.

Belshazzar, however, from the inscriptions here translated, appears early in his father's reign, in his fifth year, that is, B.C. 550, to have had a distinct household of his own, Nabu-ukin-akhi being his scribe, and Nabu-zabit-kate his *major-domo*.

In these inscriptions, Belshazzar is spoken of as the son of the king, and, as this is the title which is given to him in the chronicle inscription, it would appear that this implied some such royal position as that of "crown prince," and carried with it a separate royal establishment. A proof of this appears to be afforded by a tablet (S + 170), dated in the second year of Neriglissar, B.C. 557, in which we find Nabu-zabit-kati holding the same place of "father of the house" (*ab-biti*) or *major-domo* to the son of the King that is Labasi-Kudur or Labasi-Marduk, who was slain a few months later. He therefore retained his office during and subsequent to the revolt of Nabonidus.

The tablets relating to the offerings of the prince in the temple at Sippara have a special interest when taken in conjunction with the chronicle inscription. For it appears from these that while Nabonidus was neglecting the gods and their offerings, the young prince, who really was the ruling power, was most strict in his religious duties.

There are other tablets in the collection relating to this prince, and these I hope to publish in a subsequent number of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

(S. + 329. 76. 11. 17.)

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No. I.

Transcription.

1. XII. LU-NIT SA ABAL SARRI
 SA E PAR-RA.
 II. LU-NIT RABU-TU
 INA KATI [OP] NABU-IDDINA
 VI. LU-NITANA BIT ILU . . .
 IT-TAL-KU INA KATI (DP) BEL-SARRA-UZUR?
 A-NA BIT ABAL SARRI SU-BUL.
 II. LU-NIT AKRU II LU-NIT SA
 BIT-ILI ANA NIKI SARRI
 ID-DINA (DP) NUR-SAMSI U (DP) ILU . . . :
 E-DIR U LU ELLUTTI
 INA PAN (DP) NUR-SAMSI ARAKH SAMNA:
 SATTI. VII. (KAN) (Dd) NABU-NAID SAR-BABILI (KI).
 II. LU-NIT SA ABAL SARRI A-NA
 BIT [DP] A-NU-NI-TUM.
 ID-DI-NU NOPPKHARIS XVIII. LUNIT
 NIKI SA ABAL SARRI INA

No. I.
Translation.

1. Twelve rams from the son of the King.
For E-Barra.
Two great rams
At the hands of Nabu-iddina
Two rams from the son of the King.
He gave in all eighteen rams.
Victims for the son of the King for the [year?]
Six rams for the temple of the god
Were sent by the hands of Belshazzar
Two well favoured rams, two rams of the
(For) the temples to (be) the victims of the King
were given Nur Samsi and. . . .
Received and the noble sheep?
In the presence of Nur-Samsi in the month Marchesvan.
In the seventh year of Nabonidus King of Babylon.

No. II.
Transliteration.

1. SINBU MANA KHAMILTI SIKLI KASIPI ES-RU-U
SA BEL NABU NERGALLU U BILAT SA URUKI
[NA ?] SU-TU (D P) NABU-ZABIT-KATA (*nīs*) AB BITI
SA (DP) BEL-SARRA-UTSUR ABAL SARRI SA INA ELI
(DP) NABU-UKIN-AKHA—(*nīs*) SI-PI-RI (*nīs*) GAL-LI.
SA BEL-SARRA-UTSUR ABAL SAR-RI SA A-NA-TUM.....
(DP) NABU-NIKI-SISIB (*nīs*) GAL-LI SU
NA-AD-NU KASPI SINIBI MA-NA KHAMILTI SIKLI
NABU-ZABIT-KATA
(*nīs*) AB-BITI SA (DP) BEL-SARRA-UTSUR ABAL SARRI
I-NA KA-TI (DP) NABU-AKHI-IDDINA
ABIL-SU-SA (DP) SU-LA-A ABAL E-GI-BI.
A-NA ELI (DP) NABU-UKIN-AKHA
MA-KHI-IR INA A-SA-BB (*nestu*) DI-KII-TUM.
ASSAT (DP) NABU-UKIN-AKHA.
(*nīs*) MU-KI-NU (DP) NABU-ZER-IBASI.
ABIL-SU-SA BEL ? EDIR ABAL (*nīs*) NABU ?
(DP) ITTI-MARDUK-BALATU ABIL-SU-SA (DP) MARDUK-SAR-UZUR
ABAL (DP) AKHI-BANI (DP) ZA-MA-MA-SARRA-UZUR
ABIL-SU-SA (DP) NABU-UZUR-SU (DP) AR-ZA ?
ABIL-SU-SA (DP) TAR-A-BI (*nīs*) GAL-LA
SA (DP) BEL SARRA-UTSUR ABAL-SARRI
U- (DP) BEL-AKHA-IKISA (*nīs*) DUP-SAR
ABIL-SU-SA (DP) BEL-BALAT-SU IK-BI BABILU.
ARAKH SEBAT YUM IX. SATTI VII. (KAN)
(DP) NABU-NAID SAR BABILU.

No. II.
Translation.

Two-thirds of a Mana, five shekels of silver, the tithes
Of Bel, Nebo, Nergal and the Lady of Erech
The offering? of Nabu-Zabit Kati the *major-domo*
of Belshazzar the son of the King which by

Nabu-ukin-akha the scribe and chief slave
 He gives. The silver two-thirds mana five shekels
 Nabu-zabit-Kata, the mayordomo of
 Belshazzar the son of the King
 from the hands of Nabu-akha-iddina
 son of Sula son of Egibi
 on behalf of Nabu-ukin-akha
 received. In the dwelling of the woman Dikitum
 the wife of Nabu-ukin-akha
 Witness. Nabu-zer-ibassi
 son of Bel-edir son of the prophet
 Iti-Marduk-balatu son of Marduk-saruzur
 son of Akhibani. Zamama-sar-uzur
 son of Nabu-uzur-su, Arza
 son of Tarbi the chief slave of
 Belshazzar son of the King and
 Bel-akha-ikisa the scribe
 son of Bel-balat-su-ikbi Babylon
 Month Sebat 9th day in the 7th year
 Of Nabonidus King of Babylon.

WAS JAREB THE ORIGINAL NAME OF SARGON?

THE Babylonian Chronicle brought to light by Mr. Pinches has shown that the first two kings of the second Assyrian Empire did not originally bear the names by which they were subsequently known to history, thus verifying Schrader's acute conclusion that Pul and Tiglath-Pileser III. were one and the same. Dr. Oppert long ago conjectured that the name of Sargon, signifying as it does "the constituted monarch," was also an assumed one—a conjecture which has since been supported by the discovery of an older Sargon, famous in history and legend as the founder or representative of the first Semitic empire in Babylonia.

But whereas the two predecessors of Sargon, Pul and Ululâ—the Ilukeos of Ptolemy's Canon—adopted the names of the two most celebrated sovereigns of the older Assyrian dynasty, thus endeavouring to legitimise their power in Assyria, Sargon from the outset claimed to represent Babylonia, and thus to give himself the *de jure* authority conferred by the crown of Babylon. Hence it is that while Sargon is known by the name of Sarru-yukin in Babylonia as well as in Assyria, Tiglath-Pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV. were designated by these titles only in Assyria; in Babylonia they continued to bear their original names of Pul and Ululâ.

That Sargon, however, is really an assumed name is rendered probable not only by its signification and legendary associations, but also by the fact that the two predecessors of "Sargon the younger," who, like himself, endeavoured to found a new dynasty, found it necessary to support

their pretensions by adopting the names of earlier legitimate kings. The annals of Babylonia have enabled us to recover their natal names ; in the case of Sargon this is not possible, and we must look elsewhere if we are to discover the name he originally bore.

The name of Pul has been preserved not only in the Babylonian Chronicle and in the Canon of Ptolemy, but also in the Old Testament. There is therefore a possibility that the original name of Sargon may also be found there ; and such, I hope to show, is not improbably the fact.

Twice in the book of Hosea (v. 13, x. 6) mention is made of a king Jareb of Assyria, with whom the prophet was contemporary. Now it is true that Hosea probably intends to play upon the word, as he plays upon words like *Beth-On* and *Israel* ; but in order to be played upon, the word must already have been in existence as a proper name. Moreover, the want of an article before *melech*, "king," can scarcely be explained unless Jareb is really used as a proper name. In modern English, where a capital letter can create a proper name, a phrase like "King Contender" would be intelligible, but hardly so in Hebrew, unless an actual proper name underlay the expression. The translators of the Authorised Version had a correct grammatical instinct in making Jareb a proper name.

The text of Hosea is unfortunately in a very corrupt condition. The variant readings of the Septuagint, which differ widely from the readings of the Masoretic text, sometimes enable us to restore it, but not unfrequently both the Septuagint and the Hebrew present us with a collocation of words which is either absolutely unintelligible or inconsistent with the context. We know, too, from the book of Isaiah that the Hebrew prophets often delivered a prophecy some time before they committed it to writing, and were also in the habit of working up the earlier prophecies either of older prophets or of themselves, adapting them to the circumstances of the moment. Thus Isaiah applies to his own time a prophecy against Moab that had been pronounced "long before," (xvi. 13), and a comparison of Is. ii. 2-4 with Micah iii. 12—iv. 4, shows how two contemporaneous prophets could quote and modify the same oracle. The name of Jareb, however, is not affected by the general condition and history of the text of Hosea. Its correctness is certified not only by the text of the Septuagint, but also by its occurrence in two passages. We must accept the fact that Hosea calls a contemporaneous monarch of Assyria by the name of Jareb.

Yet such a name has not yet been met with on the monuments of Assyria. Hosea, as the superscription of his book tells us, carried on his ministry from the reign of Uzziah to that of Hezekiah. The first Assyrian monarch with whom Palestine came into contact during this period was Tiglath-Pileser III. ; the last was Sennacherib. Sennacherib

is out of the question, since the prophecies of Hosea, in which Jareb is mentioned, presuppose that Samaria had not yet fallen; Tiglath-Pileser III. and his successor, Shalmaneser IV., are equally out of the question since we know that their pre-regnal names were Pulu and Ululâ, not Jareb; consequently, Sargon alone remains.

Let us now see whether the state of affairs described in connection with the name of Jareb is consistent with the reign of Sargon. For reasons which will appear presently, we will first take the prophecy contained in ch. x.

Here we find that although Samaria is not yet in the hands of the Assyrians, it has lost its king (vv. 3, 7, 15). The prophecy must therefore belong to the period of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years which intervened between the imprisonment of Hoshea by Shalmaneser and the capture of Samaria by Sargon B.C. 722. It will be later than the prophecy in vii. 11, where reference is made to the alliance with the Egyptian king Sabako, for which Hoshea was responsible (2 Kings xvii. 4). The fall of Samaria is represented as approaching, and it is declared that the calf of Beth-On is about to be "carried unto Assyria for a present to king Jareb." Everything, accordingly, points to the final period of the Assyrian invasion when Shalmaneser had been succeeded by Sargon and the siege of Samaria was drawing to an end.

It is possible that the Shalman of verse 14 is Shalmaneser himself, and not Shalman of Moab, as Schrader suggests. Beth-Arbel is probably the Israelitish town of that name, near the Lake of Tiberias, and since the Babylonians turned Shalmaneser into Sulman-asarid, "Solomon the elder," he might easily have been called simply Sulman or Shalman. It is more likely that a parallel for the approaching fate of the Samaritan fortresses at the hands of an Assyrian king should be found in the recent fate of an Israelitish town at the hands of another Assyrian king than that the parallel should be sought abroad.

We can now turn to the prophecy in v. 8—14. The text here is manifestly corrupt in many places. The unintelligible אַחֲרַיִךְ, "after thee," of verse 8 is shown by the Septuagint (εξέσση) to be corrupted from the imperative of חָרַד. But the Septuagint itself has "Benjamin" instead of Ben-Oni, which is required by the parallelism. Here, as elsewhere, Hosea calls Beth-el by its old name of Beth-On, misread Beth-Aven by the Masoretes, but still preserved in the modern Beitân, and the inhabitant of Beth-On is naturally Ben-Oni. Ben-jamin "the southerner" was at an early date substituted for Ben-Oni out of memory of Gen. xxxv. 18. When restored, the text of verse 8 reads naturally: "Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah, the trumpet in Ramah: cry aloud, O Beth-On; tremble, O Ben-Oni."

The meaning of the passage is explained in the following verses. Ephraim was desolate and oppressed, and Judah had taken advantage

of the fact to enlarge his borders at the expense of his brother kingdom of Israel. God declares that he will punish both: "Therefore am I unto Ephraim as a moth, and unto the house of Judah as rottenness." Then, however, comes a verse (13), which, as it stands, interrupts the context.

The parallelism in it is moreover defective. This would require the repetition of the name of Judah: "When Ephraim saw his sickness and Judah his wound, then went Ephraim to Assyria, and [Judah] sent to king Jareb." That the repetition of the name was originally read in the verse is plain from the concluding part of it, where king Jareb is said to have been unable to heal either Ephraim or Judah, the plural "you" and "your" being used, and the word "wound" being referred, not to Judah alone, but to Judah and Ephraim.

Now, so far as we know, there is only one period in the history of the northern kingdom when Ephraim can be said to have gone "to Assyria" because of his "sickness," or that the princes of Judah could be accused of "removing the bounds" of Israel. Neither in the time of Menahem nor of Pekah can Israel be said to have sought help from Assyria; the reverse was, in fact, the case. So, too, though Hoshea was appointed by the Assyrian king, it was hardly with the wish of the people, part of whom had just been carried into captivity by Tiglath-Pileser. So far from applying to Assyria for aid, they had been on the side opposed to Assyria, and had suffered accordingly. During Hoshea's reign, again, there was no appeal to the Assyrians; on the contrary, Hoshea had revolted from Assyria, and had been deposed. The political situation described by the prophet could have had place only in the interval between the overthrow of Hoshea and the capture of Samaria by Sargon. We may conjecture that the death of Shalmaneser appeared to afford the people of Samaria a hope of safety, and that accordingly they sent an embassy to the new king who, however, did not "heal" or "cure" them. The period of trouble which followed the deposition of Hoshea would have offered an excellent opportunity to Judah to enrich itself at the expense of its neighbour, and it is quite possible that Hezekiah and his councillors wished to obtain indemnity for this from the new Assyrian monarch. At all events, in 2 Ch. xxx., xxxi., we find Hezekiah exercising jurisdiction in the northern kingdom. Like the second passage, therefore, (x. 6), the first passage in Hosea in which reference is made to "king Jareb," fits the beginning of Sargon's reign better than any other period.

It seem to me, accordingly, not improbable that Jareb was not only a real name, but also the original name of Sargon. The preservation of it in the Hebrew Scriptures would resemble the preservation of the name of Pul, and might easily be accounted for if we suppose that Sargon had served in Palestine as a general in Shalmaneser's army before his usur-

pation of the throne. Whether the Assyrian form of the name was Yarib, or some other like Eribu or even Aribu, slightly altered by Hosea in order to play upon the word, must remain for future research to decide.

A. H. SAYCE.

SWORN OBLIGATIONS IN BABYLONIAN LAW.

THERE had as yet been edited the text of only one oath, No. 176 of the collection of copies published by Dr. Strassmaier in the Proceedings of the Congress of Leyden, when, taking our ground also upon three Babylonian oaths in our own special collection, and upon another, likewise unedited, in the collection of the Louvre, we gave a first idea of this point in the history of law in the article "Sworn Obligations" in No. 7 of this *Record*.

Since then Dr. Strassmaier has published a new series of copies of tablets, dated in the reign of Nabonidus; and we have found there two texts which are fresh examples of *Babylonian sworn obligations*, and which, dated in a reign anterior to that of Darius, and not being confined so servilely to copy, without any variant, a habitual formula of style, permit us to complete philologically our first study, by rectifying it on two points. One of these two points is relative to the verb $\text{𒌦𒀭} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ which ought indeed to be read *ittemi*, since its plural is *ittemû* (tablet No. 45),¹ a reading which we have, moreover, indicated as possible and going well with the known meaning of the verb *tumu*, all which need not make us pause.

The other has been remarked upon by Prof. Schrader in a Note which has appeared in No. 10 of this magazine. It is concerned with the terms "kii adiia", belonging to an exclusive fashion, so to speak, in the formula of these oaths, and which we have never met thus coupled with the same acceptation of meaning in any Babylonian tablet of another kind. The phrase where they are found was, moreover, complete without this parenthesis, and that is why we have thought of some introduction in an emphatic matter in which the conjunction *kû* should have been connected by the preposition *adi* to the personal termination *ia*.

But the two new texts of Dr. Strassmaier do not confine *ia*—neither one nor other of them: and that, especially, which is numbered 197 demonstrates that the word *adi* is a substantive, as Prof. Schrader has supposed.

4) There is also a point in this act about one of those accounts between proprietors and metayers which often obtains, after declaration of the harvest has been effected, this probably being by an oath relative to the quantity of such and such a product which the farmer will pay at such and such a date. At other times the form of the promise was otherwise. The farmer was obliged by writing to make the payment at such a period, and in that case, it was declared often that in case of delay he should pay not more in kind but in money, following the course of the market (*kilum*=*mahiru*). As a new example of that value of the word *kilum* indicated by us in No. 8 of the *Babylonian Record*, we shall note the following deed, which bears No. 37 in the series K 1 m of the Louvre: "2 measures *gur*, 2 measures *pi* of grain, one measure *gur*, one measure *pi* of dates, money credit of Lubari, son of Bel-balitsu upon the woman Bulli, daughter of Aradsamas, following the former account of the year 10, she shall give at Babylon, according to the measure of a *pi*, plus a *gu*, the grain, to wit: 2 *gur*, 2 *pi*, and the dates, to wit: one *gur*, one *pi*. If, following her former account, the grain, to wit: two *gur*, two *pi*, and the dates, to wit: one *gur*, one *pi*, have not been delivered, she shall give money (representing their value) following the rate (*akii*) of the market (*kilum*) of Babylon." In No. 247 of the new series of copies by Dr. Strassmaier in reference to dues to be paid as a price for living on properties (𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪) it is likewise a matter of grain estimated by money following the rate (*akii*) of the market (*kilum*) of the month Tesrit. Evidently the month Tesrit was past when this deed was drawn up, but one of the numerous *lacunæ* which it presents does not permit us to say how far.

E. & R. V.

FORTHCOMING PAPERS.—Arthur Amiaud: The Countries of Magan and Meluhha; E. Colborne Baber: Assyrian and Chinese Gates; Prof. Dr. S. Beal: Krishna and the Solar Myths; Fragments of a life of the Buddha (*P'u quo King*); Dr. L. C. Casartelli: Pehlevi Notes. III. The Semitic suffix—*man* and its origin; Sir Alex. Cunningham: Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins. Prof. Dr. C. de Harlez: A Pentaglotte Nomenclature of Buddhist Terms (continued); Dr. Arthur Helbig: On Babylonian and Assyrian Music; Joseph Jacobs: The Nethinim, a Biblical Study; Prof. N. Kondakoff: New Archaeological Discoveries at Tashkent; Prof. Dr. T. de Lacouperie: Tattooing; Shifted Cardinal Points in Babylonia and China; Remarks on the early Babylonian writing; Prof. Dr. J. Oppert: A Juridic Cuneiform Text; W. M. Flinders Petrie: Egyptian Funeral cones and their classification—Ethnological photographs from Egypt—Rock inscription in Upper Egypt; Theo. G. Pinches: Sumer and Akkad; Prof. E. Revillout: The Babylonian Istar Taribi; A Contract of Apprenticeship from Sippara; Dr. H. G. Tomkins: Geography of Northern Syria viewed from the Assyrian side; T. Tyler: On the Hittite Inscription of the Yuzgat Seal.

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THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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THE SHIFTED CARDINAL POINTS.

FROM ELAM TO EARLY CHINA.

IN the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* of last June, I published a list of some sixty items of the civilization of China, which prove to have been borrowed from the great focus of culture of South-west Asia. Civilized China cannot vie in antiquity with the country north and north-east of the Persian Gulf; she is the younger by two thousand years or more, and therefore any attempt at explaining away these similarities, by common descent or the like, has no standing ground. That they have been imported is a matter of certainty, and that many of them were brought in by the early Chinese leaders who were civilized and came into the country by the north-west with a small number of families or tribes,¹ in the XXIII. century, B.C., is a historical fact well known to all Sinologists.

The peculiarity of the shifted Cardinal points (the subject of the present article), is very striking, and the curious circumstances and unexpected confirmation which have accompanied my disclosures, in that respect, enhance the value of that one important proof among many, that the early civilization of the *Black-headed* people (黎民) of the *Middle Country* (中國) in Eastern Asia, was indirectly derived from that of the *Black-headed* people (*sag-gig-ga*) of the (?) *middle country* (𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪) in S.W. Asia.²

I.

In a paper on the History of the Chinese language, read before a special meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 10th of May, 1880, and shortly afterwards in a lecture published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* (July 16, 1880, pp. 725-734), where I explained the basis of my discovery of a S.W. Asiatic origin for the early Chinese civilization, and gave a list of sixteen primitive Chinese characters derived from those of Babylonia, I was enabled to say the following words:—

“The names of the four cardinal points, and, what is very remarkable, the hieroglyphic signs by which they are expressed, are in a certain measure the same in the Akkadian and Chinese culture. This I intend

to show in a special monogram on the subject ; but that which is here of importance to note is the displacement of the geographical horizon produced in the establishing of the "hundred families." The south, which was so termed on the cuneiform tablets, corresponds in Chinese to the east, the north to the west, the east to the south, making thus (*partly*) a displacement of quarter of the circle. It would be interesting if, on examination of the Akkadian and Assyrian names, we could find that they, in their turn, denoted an early displacement, of which only these traces remain to us."⁴

When I penned these lines, stating this result of my researches, I could not expect that they should, within three years, receive, as they did, the striking confirmation which is reported below.

II.

Our points of the compass are so deeply rooted in our speech and knowledge, that many of us cannot, without difficulty, conceive of an Orientation established otherwise than on the same astronomical basis. However, many instances tend to show that either regional characteristics, traditions or misunderstood teaching have exercised, with or without consciousness from the people concerned, an important influence on the selection of the fixed points of space. While our civilization has dissociated the orientation of the body, front and back, left and right, from the points of the compass, we find still some instances, past and present, where the two sets are only partially, or not at all, distinguished from one another. And the inaptness in such a discrimination has produced many curious mistakes.

Distinction between right and left is the most simple mode of orientation, but it is not sufficient, as it is moveable with the body. In order to transfer it to fixed points in space, it is necessary that the position of the body should be determined. This was done according to convenience or prejudiced views in various ways. Migrating or migrated communities kept simply their route from their former settlement, while others preferred the path of the sun with or without reference to the same. Geographical peculiarities directed the selection for some tribes, and the run of the season winds, or the course of the main river, on the banks of which they were settled, were the determining influence among other communities. Should we add to these reasons, the religious influence, the routine and unexplained tradition, misunderstood or mistaken, we find not a few of influences which variously impressed the selection of the cardinal points in ancient times.

A few instances referring to the settled position of the body may prove interesting at the present juncture :

	<i>Front.</i>	<i>Back,</i>	<i>Right.</i>	<i>Left.</i>
European	North	South	East	West
Greek	N.	S.	E.	W.
Turks Hiungnu	N	S.	E.	W

Roman	S.	N.	W.	E.
Egyptian	S.	N.	W.	E.
Mandshu	S.	N.	W.	E.
Tibetan	S.	N.	W.	E.
Chinese	S.	N.	W.	E.
Arab	E.	W.	S.	N.
Hebrew	E.	W.	S.	N.
Hindu	E.	W.	S.	N.
Uigur	E.	W.	S.	N.
Polynesian	E.	W.	S.	N.
Burmese	W.	E.	N.	S.
Assyrian	W.	E.	N.	S.
Babylonian	S.W.	N.E.	N.W.	S.E.
Mongolian	S.E.	N.W.	S.W.	N.E.

The following are based upon the path of the sun : Siamese, Shan, Aino, Moksha-Mordwin, &c., without reference to local geography, while the Peguan, the Tiam, &c., do refer to such a geography present and mythical.

Others like the Tshudic, the Ostiak, &c. are purely geographical. Such was also the orientation of the populations to which the early Chinese leader, Yao, taught the nomenclature of the points of the compass in the first book of the Shu-King. There we see Yao, who was surely acquainted with many notions of the civilization of S.W Asia, connect the Bright Valley with the East or *Tung* 東 the Dark Valley with the West or *Si* 西, the Sombre Capital with the North or *Peh* 北, &c.

III.

In the cuneiform inscriptions the cardinal points are transcribed thus on a bilingual tablet,⁵ Sumero-Akkadian on the left, and Assyro-Babylonian on the right :

	South
	North
	East
	West

So that for the Assyrians⁶ the South was *Sûtu*, the North *iltanu* (for *istanu*) the evil point, the East *sadû* "the mountain," the West *aharru* "the point placed behind" the observer ; whilst for the Akkadians, the South or *im alu* was "the funereal wind,"⁷ the North or *im sidi* "the propitious wind," the East or *im kurra* "the wind of the mountains," and the West or *im martu* "the wind of the abode of sunset."

The late Francois Lenormant, with the genius of his immense erudition, had remarked a shifted orientation to the North-east and the South-west in his researches on the Akkadian magics and religious legends.

The "Mountain of the World," according to his views, which have

been subsequently proved right, was situated, not in the East, but in the North-east, and the entrance to Hades was in the South-west.⁹ And he called attention to the demon of the South west wind, of which several figures exist in the British Museum and the Louvre, some of which bear an Akkadian inscription, showing that they were used as a talisman.¹⁰ In Chaldea, the South-west wind comes from the deserts of Arabia, and its burning breath, which dries up everything, causes the same damages as the *Khamsin* in Syria, and the *Simoon* in Africa.¹¹ All these remarks of the French scholar remained in the field of speculative hypothesis, and no general co-ordination was sought for with reference to the aforesaid terms of the Akkadian compass.

My disclosures from the Chinese side, and the speculations of Lenormant, received, in 1883, a most brilliant confirmation from the decipherment, by Mr. Thos. G. Pinches, of a Babylonian tablet, of which it is not unnecessary to repeat the contents :

“The South is Elam ; the North is Akkad : the East is Suedin and Guti ; the West is Martu On the right-hand is Akkad ; on the left Elam ; in front is Martu ; behind is Suedin and Guti.”¹²

The historical records have so clearly fixed the positions of Akkad in North Babylonia and that of Elam as Khuzistan and the Sertch region, that this orientation shows a shifting of a quarter of the compass ; so that its so-called South was in reality South-east, the North was North-west, the East was North-east, and the West was South-west.

The precision of this shifted position of the Babylonian compass is further ascertained by the similar orientation of all the Chaldean monuments, with the sole exception of the Temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, of which the sides, like the Egyptian pyramids,¹³ face the usual four cardinal points.¹⁴

In the absence of any historical reason for this curious feature, any explanation is more or less a matter of speculation. Should its causes be purely local as they seem to be, we might see them in the direction from N.W. to S.E. of the two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris. New comers into the country, bringing the civilization from the Persian Gulf as the tradition says, and not being a star-gazing people would most naturally have preserved as orientation, the direction of their route, facing the N.W. and therefore the upper course and sources of these rivers. The Egyptians seem in the same manner to have preserved a souvenir of a northern origin in their orientation, facing the South and consequently the upper course of the Nile. For Chaldea, the meteorological conditions of the country giving a paramount influence for good and for bad to the North-East and South-West winds respectively must have been a cogent factor, either in the unconscious selection of fixed points in space by savage tribes growing to civilization or in the preservation of the route followed by immigrated powerful tribes. The selection of symbol meaning ‘wind’ for the denomination of the

cardinal points is another proof in favour of the same view.

However it is not at all unlikely that the words of the Sumero-Akkadian compass conceal an earlier orientation having the path of the sun for its basis. New comers, as the Sumero-Akkadians, have been at a time which of course is very remote, must have borrowed, and, as a fact did borrow many words from the former population. The terms for South-West and North-East may have been among these. As we shall see further on, they mean respectively the abode of the setting and the rising sun, both descriptions indicating a solar orientation quite distinct from that of the Sumero-Akkadians.¹⁷

But all these inferences go much beyond the historical limits, within which the youth of the Chinese, speaking with reference to the high antiquity of the Chaldean civilization, restricts our enquiry.

IV.

There are in Chinese literature and astronomy some curious traditions and traces of disturbances in the cardinal points, which must be mentioned here.

In chapter V of the writings, which bear the name of Lieh-tze, a philosopher of the 5th century before the Christian era,¹⁸ are reported legends of all sorts, obviously syncretic and marvellous in character. As Dr. J. Edkins, has very sensibly remarked, "the new ideas which entered the country at that time were joined to old traditions, so as to make new combinations. The Chinese did not get their new information in a definite and accurate shape . . . Hence they attached them to persons with whose names they were familiar, and every fragment of primitive Chinese tradition became embellished with new circumstances . . . What was old was dressed up in new habiliments, and the world was pictured with the help of fancy. Scraps of knowledge and crude narratives brought from other lands far away became the basis on which was built up a fairy structure, which pleased the new spirit of the age, and has produced on the literature ever since a permanent impression."¹⁹ The ancient legends, imported from the West by the early civilisers into the Flowery land and afterwards adapted to the new surroundings and their increasing knowledge of geography were mixed up with other ones brought in from India through the semi-Chinese region of Shuh or Szechuen,²⁰ and the whole was thrown into confusion. However it is not impossible to discriminate at a certain extent the sources of several legends and to strip them out of their superfluous and later adornments. That which we have to mention with reference to the shifting of the cardinal points in S.W. Asia is one of them.

The legend refers to an important event and deed of a female ruler 女 媧²¹ *Njoh Hwa*, i.e., "the woman Hwa," mentioned along with the mythical kings of the 9th Ki or dynasty of *Tamtum*²². *Njoh Hwa* was the successor or the wife of the great *Hot Bak-Het*. A struggle ensued

between a feudatory prince, *Kom Kom* 共工 and a Southern prince, *Tchuk-Iom* 祝誦 with the result that the pillars of heaven were broken, and the four cardinal points of the earth sundered. This caused *the heavens to fall on the North West*, and consequently the sun, moon and stars move to that point. The earth also became defective on the South East, and that is the reason why the rivers flow in that direction. Then Hwa prepared stones of the five colours to repair the Heaven, and cut off the four feet of a huge sea tortoise to set upright the four extremities of the Earth.²⁴

This legend appears with insignificant variants in several authors. Though it is not found *in toto* in the few fragments of the oldest period which have escaped the five great biblical catastrophes where has disappeared nearly the whole of the archaic Chinese literature,²⁵ a sufficient reference is made to Njoh Hwa, and the first part of her legend in the fragments of the *Kwei-tsang* of the 17th century, B.C.,²⁶ which have escaped destruction, for us to be sure that it was known to the Chinese at least at that time and probably long previously.

With the exception of the adornments at the end which seem to have been combined with some Indian ideas, this mythical story, altogether un-Chinese, bears an unmistakable S.W. Asiatic character. It contains most probably survivals of a legend, brought in from S.W. Asia by the early civilisers of China, and which may some day be discovered amongst the literary treasures still unearthened in Chaldea. So long as we only know the Chinese version of the legend, difficult it is to say what amount of historical truth it may conceal. Does it refer to a new orientation, the diagonal one, imposed upon at the time of Ur Bagas, who, as we know, is the first known King of Babylonia? The probability of a former orientation on the basis of the solar path, which we have pointed out, and the shifting of the cardinal points from the North to the North-West agrees with this suggestion, which, bold as now it is, may turn to be acceptable by further archeological and philological discoveries in a future time.

A few more references must be given here as to some peculiarities in Chinese lands concerning the points of the compass.

A recent traveller who has translated and annotated a Chinese description of the country, says in his work that whilst at Peking, they take as true North one side of the Great Bear, in Western China (*i.e.* Mongolia) they take the North-West, so that the word 'south' which means literally "front of the tent" indicates in reality the South East.²⁷ This is perhaps not a survival of an ancient custom, as it may be a combination of the Mussulman and modern Chinese orientation, which, as we know face the East and the South respectively. In China the place of honour is now on the left side or the East, but formerly it was on the right.
²⁴A commentator of the *shwoh wen*, quoted by Rev. J. Chalmers, reports the tradition that the meaning of the Chinese written symbol for North 北

Peh was that of a mountain with a sea or lake over it, thus implying that the writing was not invented in the Flowery land.²⁹ The Chinese always seat the face to the South and sleep the face to the East, namely, towards the rising sun. The dead bodies are turned to the North, and the place of sepulture is selected in the same direction. Houses were, and are still, orientated in the same way; the entrance of the main room is always on the South side facing the entrance door.³⁰

We have now to describe a curious peculiarity of the Chinese zodiac, still unsatisfactorily explained, and which is apparently due to that unconscious shifting of their cardinal points, and then we shall be able to show the similarity of forms of the Chaldean written symbols, with their Chinese derivatives, and the change brought in by the migration of the Back tribes to Eastern Asia.

(To be continued).

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

1. Apparently sixteen in number Cf. *Kang Kien y fhi luh*, in W. H. Medhurst, *Ancient China*, p. 333.

2. These two well known Chinese expressions, *underlined*, which appear in the cuneiform texts belong apparently to the stock of imported notions. Applied to the new surroundings both appear in the early parts of the *Shu-King* viz., *Li min* 黎民 the black-haired or black-headed people, (I, 2 II c 1) 18, (22), &c.), and *Tchung-pang* 中邦 III 1 (2) 15 or *Tchung Kwoh* 中國 'the middle country or Kingdom' for the region occupied by the Chinese.—For the cuneiform texts Cf. W. A. I. vol. III, 4, 7; IV, 29, 1; 61, 27; and Sir Henry Rawlinson, *The islands of Bahrein*, J. R. A. S., 1880, XII, 219; François Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, I, 311-313; Dr. Fritz Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker*, I, 465; Prof. A. H. Sayce, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 27, 79, 99, 140-3. J. Menant, *Grammaire Assyrienne*, 1880, 116.—As the case happens in China for the same expression which means the people at large, and is supposed to indicate the able-bodied people, those who have no grey hair, the appellative black-headed race of the cuneiform inscriptions is not clear for assyriologists and ought perhaps to be explained in the same way.

3. A general review of my researches and discoveries had been published in the *Times*, 20th April, 1880, *The Progress of Chinese Linguistic Discovery*.

4. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, July 16, 1880, vol. xxviii., p. 733.

5. W. A. I., II., 29, 1-4, col. 3.

6. On these names cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 168-169.—Theo. G. Pinches, MS. notes.—All these names have been more or less translated in various works of Assyriology.

7. Mr Theo. G. Pinches translates: "Wind of the city." MS. note.

8. Variant: *Im garsag*, with the same meaning, according to Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. II. (1), p. 127.

9. Fr. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 168; *Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. II. (1), pp. 125-128.—Cf. also W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Babylonian Legends, The Migration to Shinar*, in *Modern Thought*, August, 1883.

10. Without however establishing any connection with the diagonal orientation.

11. *Chaldean Magic*, p. 52.

12. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, February 6, 1883, p. 74. The tablet was entered in the British Museum on July 27th, 1881.

13. Our collaborateur, Mr. Flinders Petrie, the author of the best work which has ever been written on The Great Pyramid, writes me (Oct. 31, 1887), on my enquiry about some doubtful statements I had met with about one of the great pyramids, that all of them are orientated N. and S. within a few degrees. The Sakkara step pyramid is reported to by Vyse as 4° 35' from N., and the Southern brick pyramid of Dahshur, as observed by M. F. P. has the same orientation.

14. Cf. A. H. Sayce, *Hilbert Lectures*, 1887; p. 64.

15. On the Egyptian orientation Cf. H. Brugsch, *Die altägyptische Völkertafel*, in Vth oriental congress, Berlin, 1881, Vol. II, (3), pp. 25-79.—Prof. G. Maspero thinks that the Egyptians used to divide their cardinal points in two series; North and East, South and West. Cf his note in the most curious and elaborated work of Dr. W.F. Warren, *Paradise found* (Boston, 1885) p. 223 n.

16. Alfred Maury, *La Terre et l'Homme*, 3rd edit., p.p. 81-82.

17. Cf. my views on a probable early immigration of Kushites in Chaldea and Assyria in *The Kushites, who were they?* in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* for December, 1886.

18. A very good work on Liehtze, and hitherto the only one is that of the Rev. Ernest Faber: *Der Naturalismus bei den alten Chinesen*, sowohl nach der seite des Pantheismus als der sensualismus, order die simmtlichen werke Philosophen Licius zum erste male vollständig übersetzt und erklärt. Elberfeld, 1887.

19. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, Vol. XVIII, p. 22.

20. On these Indian importations Cf. T. de L.: *The languages of China before the Chinese*, sec 212, 213.

21. The Chinese have preserved a long list of rulers who ruled previously to their own existence, and not in China, which list proves to be that of the ancient Kings of Chaldeo-Babylonia. The list stops short at an early date when they or their civilisers were made acquainted with them. Pending the publication of the two lists in parallel columns, Cf. my articles on *The Chinese mythical Kings and the Babylonian canon*, and on *Traditions of Babylonia in Early Chinese documents*, in *The Academy*, October 6th, November 17th. 1883.

22. Cf. *Zamdim* the Assyrian-Babylonian name of a region, N.W. of the Persian Gulf.

23. In modern sounds Great Hao Fuh-hi. The same as Ur-Bagas so called in the Kassite dialect of Elam (Theo. G. Pinches, MS. note) otherwise Ur-Ba-u, the first known King of United Babylonia.

24. Cf. The various extracts in the *Zai ping yü lan*, a collection of 983 A. D. Bk. p. 4, 5.—Dr. J. Edkins, *l. c.* p. 22.—W. F. Meyers, *Chinese Readers Manual*, I, 521.

25. On the five literary catastrophes which have made ancient Chinese literature a mere wreck, Cf. A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, p.p. III-VII.

26. About the *Kwei-tsang* lost book, Cf. my work *The oldest book of the Chinese*, sec. 31.

27. M. Guelny, *Description e la Chine Occidentale*, par un voyageur, traduite du Chinois, in *Le Muséon* of Louvain, Cf. Vol. VI, 1887, p. 1.

28. Rev. J. Chalmers, *The origin of the Chinese* (London, 1868) p. 28.

29. *Ibid.* p. 28.

30. Cf. G. Schlegel *Uranographie Chinoise*, Vol. I, p. 217.

TWO DISCOURSES OF CHOSROES THE IMMORTAL-
SOULED.

II.

CHOSROES ARGUES FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In a preceding number of this review (Vol. I, No. 7) I offered a translation of the 'last words' attributed to the great Persian King Chosroës Anoshakrûbâno by a Pehlevi treatise.

Discourses and letters attributed to this celebrated monarch are extremely common in Eranian literature. It is but natural that all kinds of traditions should gather round the name of so famous a warrior and so celebrated a ruler, whose subjects bestowed upon him the same title of "the Just," which was enjoyed by the equally famed Caliph Harûn of Bagdad. Numerous conversations, shrewd replies to questions, solutions of cases, messages to foreign monarchs are preserved by Eastern writers, such as the Arab chronicler Tabari. Still more numerous are the discourses and letters put to his credit by the great national epic poet of Persia, Firdusi in his immortal *Shâhnâmeh*. In the latter work we have noted the following such speeches and epistles (the references are to the pages of Mohl, in Vol. vi. of his translation of the Epic):—1. Chosroës' discourse to the nobles on assuming the Crown of Iran (123—6); a similar discourse is in Tabari (Nöldeke's version, p. 162); 2. Letter to his subordinates (129—34); 3. Speech to the Mobed (131—9); 4. Proclamation to his people (140); 5. Discourse on the greatness of God, on seeing the beauties of the world from a lofty mountain (143—5); 6. Letter to the Roman Kaiser (154—8); 7. Letter to the commanders on the Frontier (158); 8. Address to his Army (159); 9. Letter to Ram Berzin (177—83, which reminds one of David and Absalom); 10. Speech about the Hetalians (251); 11. Letters to the Khakan (262, 271); 12. Prayer to God (224); 13. Collection of his maxims (378—89); 14. Letter of advice to his son Hormuzd (390—4); 15. Wise answers (395—407, 424—430); 16. Letter to the Kaiser's son (408—9); 17. Discourse regarding his successor (433); 18. Discourse, with advice to his son and successor (432—6) It is a sign of Mohamedan times that Chosroës in this latter discourse directs his successor to embalm and bury his body—a mode of disposing of the dead utterly repugnant to the Mazdean religion, and in this respect the "Last Words" in the *Shâhnâmeh* contrast sharply with the exact orthodoxy of those in the *Andarj-i Khuzrai*, already translated in these pages.

It will be seen from the rough list above that the Orientals made of Chosroës not only an Alexander and a Justinian, but also a Solomon, to whom they attributed whole strings of "wise


saws and modern instances." There can be little doubt that much of this is merely the accumulation round the name of an illustrious monarch of a quantity of those shrewd proverbs and that sententious philosophy, ever current in the East from time immemorial.

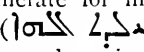
The question may naturally be asked whether all the speeches and epistles attributed by poet or chronicler to Anosharevan are mere rhetorical compositions, like the speeches in Livy or Tacitus. It is not impossible, I should say, that at least some of these discourses and epistles have an historical foundation. It may be remarked that in the case of the letter cited above, *sub* 16, Firdusi introduces the matter by saying: "I have seen in an old book that" Chosroës wrote as follows. From what we know of the manner in which Firdusi compiled the materials for his great Epic, we need have no hesitation in accepting his statement. It is perhaps possible that when many more of the hitherto inaccessible treasures of Pehlevi literature have been published by the activity of modern Parsi savants in India—as M. Darmesteter has lately been urging upon them—we shall find some of the other material used up by Firdusi for his *Epic of Kings*. It will then be a nice question to discuss, as we did in the case of the *Andarj*, whether any of this Pehlevi traditional literature is contemporaneous with the Sassanids, and how far we can consequently rely upon its accuracy.

One discourse of considerable interest is attributed to Chosroës by the famous Syriac chronicler Barhebraeus, or Abû'l-farâj, to which attention will be called in this paper. It occurs in the second section of his Ecclesiastical Chronicle, "The Primates of the East," and I quote it from the recent edition of MM. AbbeLoos and Lamy (*Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum, e Codice Musei Britannici descriptum*, 3 vols., with Latin translation, Paris and Louvain, 1872-77), where it occurs, tom III., coll. 91-96. The special interest of this discourse is, that it turns upon Christian doctrines, and brings out the Wise King's (𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭩) familiarity with the Christian religion, and even with the text of the New Testament, as shown by the quotations from St. Paul. It is more than likely that Chosroës really did possess such an acquaintance with Christianity. It is well known that many Christian savants were to be found at the Sassanian Court. One of his wives was a Christian, and so was his son Nûsh-zad by the same wife, the "Absalom" above referred to, who died, assisted by a Christian Bishop. Chosroës' physician, Joseph, succeeded the Catholicos, or patriarch Aba, to be mentioned shortly, in A.D. 552 (Barheb, l. c. col. 96). The abundant quotations of the Christian Scriptures in the *Shikand Gûmânîk Vijâr* (of which the texts have just been issued by Dastur Hoshang and Dr. West, Bombay, 1887, whilst the version by West appeared in *Sacred Books of the East*, Pahlavi

Texts, part iii, Oxford, 1885) shew how familiar the Pehlevi writers were with Christianity.

Although the text of Barhebraeus is so easily accessible, I venture to conclude with an English version of this curious controversial piece:—

The Nestorians relate that Chosroës Anoshervan, the Wise King summoned Abas the Catholicos [“who had been before a Magus, ,” i.e., a Zoroastrian, col. 89 *antea*] and argued with him concerning Faith, saying:

“Enumerate for me how many peoples there are who call Mary *θεοτόκος* () and receive Cyril; and how many who do not call her so and receive Nestorius?”

At this the Catholicos was silent, for he could not lie, and he was convicted by the truth. But, being pressed, he answered that all Christian peoples used that term and received Cyril, “we alone do not use it and we receive Nestorius.”

Then the king reproved him and said: “Do then all lie and ye alone say truth? In sooth, ye are far from the Christians in your faith and morals. For where is it heard that a Catholicos or a Bishop hath a wife dwelling with them as with you? Or that, when a wife dieth, a cleric should marry another, and again another and another, as your clerics do?”

[The Catholicos replies that they do not use the word *θεοτόκος*, because God the Word did not derive his beginning from Mary. He declares himself a celibate, but defends his predecessors on the grounds of 1 *Cor.*, vii.9, and *Titus* i., 6.]

The King answered, “All these arguments are vain. For Paul himself ‘says not from men nor by man, but by Jesus Christ.’”^{*} And again *our fathers the Magi*† unless they knew that it was God who was born of the Virgin in Bethlehem, would not have come from the East to adore him nor have offered him offerings. And the word ‘It is better to take a wife’[‡] the Apostle spake to the children of the world, over whom the lust of the flesh prevaieth. For he who is set in the rank of the Apostles should burn with the love of God, and not with the lust of marriage. And as for that one word ‘let a priest be the husband of one wife’[‡] if he had permitted to men of the world that two wives together should belong to one husband, perhaps it would be credible that he should forbid such a thing to priests. Wherefore I advise thee, O Catholicos Aba, to withdraw from this belief and adhere to the faith of the rest of Christians; and thou shalt have honour before us and before them.”

^{*}Galat. i, 1.

†Aba had been a Mazdean, see above.

‡1 *Cor.* vii 9

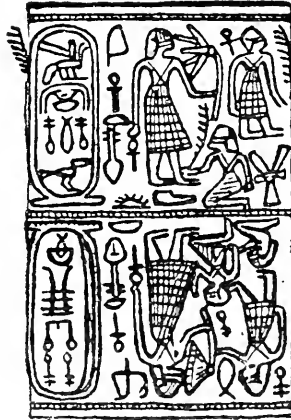
‡Titus, i, 6

Aba's refusal to be thus converted, led to his expulsion and eventual incarceration and death in prison.

The reference to the tradition, that the Magi of *Matt. ii. 1* were Mazdeans or Zoroastrians, here put into the mouth of King Chosröes, will be noted with interest. Of course it is hard to say how far this discourse is genuine, or accurately recorded. At any rate it contains no inherent improbability.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

A ROYAL EGYPTIAN CYLINDER WITH FIGURES.



It is generally thought that the quantity of cylinders bearing royal names and titles, dating from the old and middle Kingdoms, indicate a connection with the national usage of Babylonia. The Egyptian cylinders are, however, in almost every case, occupied with inscriptions, and do not otherwise represent animals, gods, or men. But one exception to this style is in a cylinder which is so very universal in its design, and so important in its relation to the scarabs bearing unknown names, that students should be aware of it. I had proposed publishing it in my collection of drawings of scarabs and royal amulets, but I think it deserves separate consideration.

This cylinder is of the usual steatite, which has been glazed, but now only retains the very hard whitish face due to chemical changes. I purchased it in Cairo some years ago. Its genuineness is beyond all question; both from the evidence of the character of the work, and from the decomposed glaze—formerly green, now powdery and nacreous—filling

all the engraving. Its subject is divided into two registers or scenes running around it, the bases of the scenes joining in the middle, so that either way up one scene is upright, and the lower one almost like a reflection of it, figure for figure. The subjects of the scenes are alike, but with valuable differences. In the upper scene in the illustration we see a suzerain standing in tranquil enjoyment of the lotus flower presented to him, and holding the *ankh*. His private name is behind him, *Ka-ankh-t-nefer-kha*; and adjoining it is his throne name in a cartouche reading *Neferui-ka-tat-uah*. Before him stands a vassal named *Neferui-kes*, together with his son and daughter apparently, who kneels before the suzerain. The same subject is repeated on the opposite scene at the other end of the cylinder; the same Suzerain, with lotus flower and *ankh*, stands with his name behind him, but with a slight variation of *A*, in place of the curious monogram *Ka-a* which begins the name before; this may be an accidental omission, like the *Kha* being drawn without its radiations in the first scene, so that it looks like *t*. It is possible also that the *t* after *ankh* is a badly made *r*. Before the suzerain is the vassal standing with a palm branch, his wife or daughter also kneeling with another branch. Here comes in the great variation; in place of the throne name of the Suzerain we have the throne name of the vassal in the cartouche before him; for though necessarily separated in the drawing by the same line as the upper scene, the cartouche falls between the two kings, and to which it applies is seen on reading it. It contains the same name, *neferui-kes*, which we have already seen scattered around the figure of the vassal; but beside that it has the royal titles. *net-nub* and *ur*. When presenting the lotus flower in homage to his Suzerain he is but *Neferui-kes*; but when marching independently with his branch he is *net-nub-neferui-kes-ur*.

The age of this cylinder must be either in the troublous times of the VIIth—Xth dynasties, or the XIIIth—XVIIth dynasties. No king of any name approaching either of these is known on other monuments excepting scarabs. To which period therefore this belongs, I should not like to decide; but the indications lead rather to the later times. The important results here are that, having figures of both suzerain and vassal, we are definitely assured that the cartouches here are real names borne by royal persons, and not charms or ignorant toying with hieroglyphs. As a very large class of scarabs is known bearing inscriptions of a similar type, we have the best guarantee that these really represent the names of kings and chiefs now lost to history. This is a very important inference, as these scarabs have been contemptuously dismissed by Mariette and others as not of historic value; and the names they have preserved have been treated as mere exclamations, wishes or charms.

We see on this cylinder an interesting condition of the government;

divided, as it usually appears to have been in all times of Egypt's weakness between a suzerain and vassals beneath him. The throne name of the suzerain is remarkable, beginning not with *Ra*, but with *neferui*, as do many names on scarabs; there has been a view that *neferui* was a mode of writing *ra*, but this has not met with much favour I believe, though indicated by a scarab in the Louvre; this cylinder rather confirms such a notion, or at least shows that a regular throne name might begin with *neferui*. The cartouche of the vassal shows us in what manner these frequent names of this type are to be analysed. His own name was *neferui-kes* but for a cartouche he did not adopt a different name altogether, but added royal titles to his own—"the golden one of the north, the great." It seems probable that this suzerain was a foreigner who had adopted an Egyptian name, without appearing as a regular Egyptian king with the usual titles *neter nefer*, or *suten net*; his vassal is apparently restrained from adopting these titles, but runs as near regal state as he may with *net*, *nub* and *ur*. This state agrees well with the foreign invasion of the Hyksos period; and it is probably a Hyksos chief who is here represented. This may suggest that the *Ra* name was not adopted by those who were not of the old royal line, the children of *Ra*.

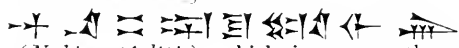
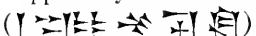
There are two other cylinders known with a double register; one of Usertesen III. and Amenemhat IV. in Brit. Mus.; and the exquisite one of Miss Brocklehurst's with the names of six kings of the XII. dynasty from Amenemhat I. to IV., all in regular order. From these both belonging to the end of this dynasty, my cylinder is the more likely to belong to a later time. There are also two cylinders similar to this in work and style, though with names of a different type and without figures. One is Professor Lanzone's, of a certain *Hak set-u*, "Prince of the mountains," named *Khi*, with apparently the further title *Mer Nes*, director of some religious ceremony or rite—a prince priest. The other is in the Pantechnicon at Athens, and apparently names the same person *Khi* but with the title *hak nefer*, similar to *neter nefer*. The cylinder here described is, however, so far as I know, unique in showing us the figures of the personages, and naming both a suzerain and vassal. Possibly this account may draw some further information bearing on it from other readers.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.



The first number of the DIETSCHE WARANDE, *Tijdschrift voor Kunst en Zedegeschiedenis*, published by Dr. Paul Alberdingk Thijm at Gand, and which has just appeared, contains an able article by Mr. G. Van den Gheyn, on *De speltingen te Babylon*, pp. 81-90, illustrated with eight figures of musicians drawn from the monuments.


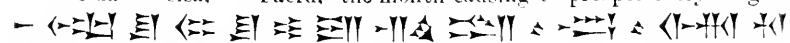

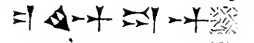
BABYLONIAN ETYMOLOGIES, &c.


THE LETTER *M* IN SEMITIC BABYLONIAN.—It has already been shown (*B. & O. R.*, Vol. I., p. 32) that the letter *m* is often, in Assyrian and Babylonian texts, to be pronounced as *w*. In some cases, however, it seems that it is possible for it to become a mere aspirate (for that is what the letter *m* probably represents in many proper names), and even to disappear altogether.

An interesting instance of the last-named occurs in the name  *D.P. Na-bi-um-šû-lî-šî-ir* (*Nabium-sû-lîšîr*), which is apparently written for *Nabû-šum-lîšîr*, an ideographic form of which () is also found.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S BROTHER.—There is a certain amount of additional interest attached to the above, inasmuch as *Nabium-sû-lîšîr* or *Nabû-šum-lîšîr* seems to be the name of Nebuchadnezzar's younger brother.

THE INFINITIVE OF VERBS .—As there seems to be a certain amount of doubt (not, however, among English Assyriologists) as to the true form of the infinitive of verbs having  as their first radical, I reproduce the following extract from K. 738 :


 D.P. GUD- SI - SA YA - E - RU. AR - HU ŠU- TE -ŠUR KA - LA-MA
 Gud - sisa. Yaeru, the month causing to prosper everything—

 ina eli šu - mi - šu i - da - gi - il : iti : ar - hu
 by its name it is shown : iti = month.

 GUD : NAP-HA-RU : GUD : KA - LA-MA : SI - SA : E-ŠE - RU ŠA
gud = all : *gud* = everything : *sisa* = to prosper. of

 i - DU - TI (?).
 vegetation (?).

Though the etymology given by the scribe will probably surprise some scholars, there is one thing that is certain, and that is, that we have here a clear example of the infinitive of a verb , namely, *ššeru*, the Heb. יִשֵּׁר. The form of the month-name, *Yaeru*, for the more common *Aaru* (*Iyyar*) is also very noteworthy.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

ERRATUM in No 1.—In the article 'A Babylonian Dower-contract,' the cuneiform text on p. 7 should be placed after l. 28 instead of after l. 7.

DEITIES ON INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS.

I HAVE read Dr. Stein's paper on the "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian coins" with much interest, as the subject has engaged my attention for some years, preparatory to writing a monograph on the Indo-Scythians, both Śakas and Kushāns. Dr. Stein's paper deals only with the coins of the Kushān kings Kanishka and Huvishka on which he sees certain Zoroastrian deities.¹

I pointed out long ago that the Greek legends on the coins of the Kushān Princes rendered the name of *Kanishka* by **KANHPKI**, and that of the *Kushān* tribe by **KOPANO**, and I inferred therefore that the title of **PAO** was the equivalent of *Shao-wu* of the Chinese writers, and of **ZAOOY** on the coins of the earlier Kushān King Kujula Kadaphes.² In all these instances Dr. Stein has noticed that the Greek letter *rho* has an abnormal form, with the perpendicular stroke lengthened upwards. This unusual form he accordingly supposes must have been intended to represent the sound of *sh*, which is wanting in the Greek alphabet. As I have made numerous sketches of these coins during my career, this peculiar form of the letter had not escaped my notice. But I did not attribute any special value to its abnormal form, as I looked upon it simply as a variant of the common *rho*, ϱ for Ρ. This opinion I still hold for the following reasons.

1.—In the Tūrki dialects the letter *r* often takes the place of *s* and *z*, as in the Hungarian *tenger*=Tūrki *dengiz*, "the sea". The same change is common in Latin, as *ara*=*asa*, *Valerius*=*Valesius*, &c. So also the Greek *ῥοπαλον*, a "club", = the Scythian *sapat*, and the Indian *sabal*.

2.—That the title of **PAO** was pronounced *Pao*, and not *Shiho*, as proposed by Dr. Stein, I have evidence in a crystal seal with a royal head and the inscription **𐬨𐬀** = *rašin* Arian characters. As the Arian alphabet possessed a separate character, **𐬀**, for the sibilant *sh*. I presume that this character would have been used had the word been pronounced *shiho*.

3.—The earliest Greek form of the tribal name of the Kushāns, as found on the coins of Kujula, is not **KOPANO**, but **KOPCAN**, **KOPCNA**, and **XOPANCY**, all spelt with the common **P**. Now this form might have become either *Kushān* by dropping the *r*, or *Korano* by dropping the *s*. But I am inclined to think that the latter form was obtained by the very common process of softening the sibilant *s* to the lighter breathing of *h*, which would give the form of *Korhano*, or *Koppavo*. But to show the natural connexion between *Korsa* and *Koran*, I need only refer to the Latin *cursus* and *curvus*, which both spring from the same root.

4.—If the letter β really had the power of *sh* then this reading should furnish us with intelligible renderings of all the names in which it is found. Dr. Stein indeed rests his argument on his readings of the name of $\text{O}\beta\Lambda\text{A}\Gamma\text{N}\text{O}$ as *Oshlagno*, which he refers to *Verethraghna*, the Iranian War-god, and on $\beta\text{A}\text{O}\text{P}\text{H}\text{O}\text{P}\text{O}$ as *Kshathra-vairyā*, or as he is popularly called *Shahrewar*, one of the Zoroastrian Amshaspands, “the genius of metals.”

But I read these names differently. The first I take to be only a blundered rendering of $\text{O}\beta\Delta\text{A}\Gamma\text{N}\text{O}$ for $\text{O}\beta\Theta\text{A}\Gamma\text{N}\text{H}\text{C}$, the name of an earlier Scythian King of the family of Gondophares. *Orthagnes* I would explain by the Sanskrit *ortho-jna*, pronounced *Arthagna*, meaning the “wise,” as a synonyme of the Planet Budha, or Mercury. As the name of *Budha* (the planet) might easily have been confused with that of *Buddha* (Sakya Muni), I presume that another term of similar meaning was adopted. Perhaps the bird with expanded wing on the helmet of *Orlagno* may be intended to typify the rapid motion of the planet, as well as the swiftness of the element *Wind*, over which Mercury presided. Odin we know was called the “the eagle-headed.” I may note that the substitution of *l* for *t* and *d* is still common in Afghanistan, where *las*=*das* (ten), *last*=*dast* [hand], *palār*=*pitar* [father] and *tsalar*=*chatur* [four].

With respect to the second name $\beta\text{A}\text{O}\text{P}\text{H}\text{O}\text{P}\text{O}$ I notice that Dr. Stein ignores the obvious meaning of *Rao* as “King,” although the well-known examples of *Rao-Nana* and *Nana-Rao* should have pointed to this simple explanation. The fully armed figure of *Rao-Reoro* with helmet, spear, and shield, is so obviously intended for the great “God of War,” that I feel it quite impossible to recognise him as the simple “genius of metals”. On some coins *Rao* is represented in actual combat with his shield on his upraised arm. The real God of metals was $\text{H}\Phi\text{A}\text{I}\text{C}\text{T}\text{O}\text{C}$, who is represented on my unique coin of Kanerki with hammer and tongs, a figure of which $\text{A}\Theta\text{P}\text{O}$, the “God of Fire” is an exact copy. I would explain *Rao-Reoro* as “King Reoro”, and refer the name to the Sanskrit *Rudhira*, which means literally “blood,” but which is also a name of Mars. By the usual process of softening the hard *dh* to the soft *h*, *Rudhira* would become *Ruhira*, and *Rao Reoro* would be simply “King Mars,” the *Mars-piter* of the Romans and the Semitic *Adrammelek*, or *Adar-ha-melek*, “Adar the King.” That the planets were called “Kings” we have the testimony of Hyde, who says “Apud Ethnicos planetæ omnes Regum epitheto seuper gaudebant.”³

The name of $\text{A}\Theta\text{P}\text{O}$, that is *Atar* or *Adar*=“Fire,” which is invariably written with the abnormal form of β , offers the most conclusive proof that its real value was simply *r*. Dr. Stein himself says that the legend of *Athro* is “not open to any doubt,” although he affirms that *sometimes* in *Athro* there is “a partial confusion” of two

characters so similar in appearance". To this statement I can oppose my long experience, during which I have not seen among many hundreds even a single specimen on which the name was spelt otherwise than with the abnormal form of *ro*.

I differ also with the reading of **TEIPO**, which Dr Stein identifies with *Tishtrya*, the Avestic name of Sirius. But the figure is a *female* with Bow and Quiver, whereas Sirius was a male personage. Dr. Stein indeed says that "we must not attach much more importance to the difficulty "presented by the *apparently* female character of the type," as it is evidently "a mere reproduction of the Greek Artemis." Exactly so, and as Artemis was a female I prefer to read the legend of the coin as **ZEIPO**, and to identify the figure with the Persian *Zahra*, or Venus. In the Arabic version of the Acts of the Apostles [c. xix, 28] the Greek **Ἀρτεμις* is rendered by *Zahra*. We have also the statement of Hesychius, who says *Ζαρήτες. Ἀρτεμις Πέρσαι*. As a final proof I may add that I possess two gold coins with *exactly* the same female figure with Bow and Quiver, both of which bear the legend of **NANO**. That Nanaia was the Eastern Venus we have the testimony of Plutarch and Klemens of Alexandria. The former says "Artemis quam vocavit Anaïtida," and the latter more directly says Ἀφροδίτη· Ταυαῖος.

Another name which Dr. Stein wishes to explain as that of a Zoroastrian deity is **ἈρΔΕΙΧΡΟ**, in which both *ro*'s are of abnormal form. He reads the third letter as **A**, and thus obtains *Ashaeiksho*, with which he compares the Zend *Asharakhsho* and *Ardarakhsho*, that is "Holy Order", or the "Genius of Sacrificial Fire", commonly called *Ardabehisht*. But to this reading I strongly object, as the figure is unmistakeably that of the *Sun*, with a radiated halo round the head, and the right hand extended exactly like the figure of **MIPO** or Mihiro.⁴ The legend should therefore be some epithet of the Sun. The only explanation that I can suggest is the Sun's well known Indian name of *Divasakara* or *Din-kar*, the "Day-maker," which with the prefix of *Arta*, or "great," might perhaps be the name intended as *Ardinkara*.

I have now examined the four principal names on which Dr. Stein rests his readings of "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins," and on which he bases his conclusion that the "Iranian language and traditions, as well as Zoroastrian Religion were introduced into India by its Indo-Scythian conquerors".⁵ With regard to the *language* of the Indo-Scythian conquerors this conclusion is certainly wrong, as *all* the inscriptions of the Kushans are in the Indian language, while the royal titles of *Maharaja*, *Raja-diraja*, *Devaputra*, &c. are peculiar to India. With regard to the introduction of the Zoroastrian religion I am more sceptical. In fact I feel confident that the religion of the Indo-Scythian Kushans was the Seytho-Median

worship of the Planets and Elements, which they brought with them from Bactria; but somewhat modified as well as amplified by contact with India. Of purely Indian Gods there are several, such as **BOΔΔO**, or Buddha (Sakya Muni), the Brahmanical four armed **OKPO** with his Bull and trident, and the three representations of Kârtikeya under the names of *Mahâsena Skanda-Kumâra* and *Vaisîkha*.

In conclusion, I will attempt to explain the two very common names of **OKPO** and **APΔOXPO**, in both of which the peculiar form of *vo* is unavoidably used. As Dr. Stein has not even tried to explain the former name I infer that his *sh* key will not unlock its meaning. I will therefore try the common key of *v*.

The god **OKPO** is a four-armed deity standing in front of a humped Bull. He holds a trident, a thunderbolt, a noose, and a water vessel, all symbols of the Indian Mahâdeva or Śiva, whose *vâhan* was the Bull Nandi. He is also named *Kâl* or "Time", and as such he represents Death, the Destroyer of all things. He is therefore called *vakra*, the 'crnel and malignant', which is also a title of the inauspicious Planet Saturn. As **OKPO** represents most exactly the Sanskrit *vakra* I feel some confidence in the correctness of this reading.

APΔOXPO is a goddess, who, whether sitting or standing, is always represented with a cornucopia filled with fruits. According to my view she represents the *Earth*, the *Alma Venus* of Lucretius, and the mother of all things living, *μήτηρ πάντων*, as Euripides calls her. On one coin her name is simply **ΔOXPO**. When I first saw this coin in India in 1874 I at once pointed out to Sir Clive Bayley that the name was the Scythian form *Takkara* or *Thukkra* of the Sanskrit *Ṣakra* or the planet Venus. *Ardokro* would therefore be *Arta + Takkra*, or the "Greek Venus", in fact the *Magna Dea*. In the inscriptions of Darius I find *Utana* son of *Thukkra*, as one of the Seven Conspirators. He therefore corresponds with Otanes of Herodotus. Now *Utana*, in Sanskrit *Uṣavis*, is also a name of Venus, and this connexion of the two names in the same family is strongly in favour of the correctness of my reading.

My general conclusion regarding the deities figured on the Indo-Scythian coins is that the Kushâns, during their residence in Bactria, had adopted the Magian worship of the Elements and the Seven Planets. The Zoroastrian cult had no images until Artaxerxes Mnemon introduced the worship of the Babylonian Nanaia. The figures of the Planets and Elements on the coins of the Kushâns are certainly not of Persian origin, but are clearly either copies of Greek art, or original Indo-Grecian designs. The figure of **AΘPO** the god of Fire is copied exactly from that of **ΗΦΑΙCTOC** on my unique coin of Kanerki, and that of **OKPO** with the club is imitated from the gold coin of **ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ** or Herakles. Except on one unique coin in my own

cabinet I can find no trace of Zoroastrianism. This single coin bears a male figure riding a horse which has two heads, with the legend **MAZΔOOANO** the interpretation of which I leave to Zend scholars.

NOTES.

- 1) *B. & O. Record*, No. 10. p. 155.
- 2) *Bengal Asiatic Society Journal*, 1845, p. 432-434.
Ibid., 1853, Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps.
Numismatic Chronicle, 1872. N. S. vol. xii. p. 299.
- 3) *Religio Veterum Persarum*, p. 115.
- 4) Prof. Percy Gardner describes this figure as "Sun-god with radiated disk."—*Brit. Mus. Catalogue*.
- 5) *B. & O. Record*, No. 10, p. 196.

ALEX. CUNNINGHAM.

*A CLAIM OF PRIORITY AS TO DEEDS RELATING
TO BELSHAZZAR.*

THE last number of the RECORD has just reached us : and we are much astonished to see Mr. Boscawen* there, in an article entitled "Inscriptions relating to Belshazzar," reproducing a text (S + 329, 79, 11, 17) already published by Mr. Strassmaier, (Congress of Leyden, No. 80) and

*With reference to this article we have the following Note from Mr. Boscawen :—

"I have read the remarks of MM. Revillout, in which they claim a priority in the discovery of the tablet relating to Belshazzar, which I published in last number. While admitting their priority of study of this text, I would state this, in reply, that I was quite unaware of their contribution on the subject, their work "Obligations en droit Egyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité" not having been seen by me. There is no copy of the book in the British Museum ; and I have never seen it quoted as yet by any English or American Assyriologist. It is not strange, therefore, that I do not in any way refer to it.

"In regard to the criticisms on my paper, these seem to me to turn upon the moot question of the restoration of the mutilated portions of the text, and the well-known ambiguity of Assyrian prepositions.

"The transcription adopted in the second tablet of LU-NIT was that which I knew would be recognised by Assyrian scholars, as it appears to have been by MM. Revillout, and did not therefore call for any explanation on their part or mine—and as to the translation we agree.

"And, of course, if it could be imagined, which I cannot well conceive, that MM. Revillout have had it in their minds to fasten upon me a charge of shameless plagiarism from their, to me, quite unknown book, the readers of the *Record* will at once see that most of their accusations *ipso facto* fall to the ground.

"On my own part I am also bound to state that I dissent on several points from their renderings.

translated by us in 1886, p. 393 of the Appendix to the Course "sur les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité" delivered by one of us at the Ecole du Louvre, and presenting, as an important discovery of his own, exactly the same remarks upon which we had laid stress at length in the work in question.

The discovery which Mr. Boscawen claims consists in showing that Bel-saruzur or Balthasar, son of king Nabonidus, had, when this contract was drawn up, (S + 329) a separate household, and a major-domo who had already filled the same office in the household of king Neriglissar's son, as proved by another deed (S + 170) dated in the 2nd year of that king.

Now this other deed (S + 170) we have likewise translated, pp. 386 and 387 of our book; and this permanence of the function of chief of the household of the king's son, the heir presumptive to the crown, under different dynasties, is the very point upon which we have laid hold to throw light upon the subject.

We reproduce here those passages in which we have treated of it :

"In the second year of Neriglissar Nebo ahi iddin guarantees a debtor of the king's son. Here is the translation of this deed which is numbered 118 in Mr. Strassmaier's copy :

'12 minas of silver, credit of the king's son, by the hands of (*sagati*) Nebo zabit qati, mayor of the palace (*rabbiti*) of the king's son, upon Sumaiukin, son of Murallimu—In the month of Nisan, the money, to wit : 12 minas, as his capital he (Sumaiukin) will give ; all his goods in town and country, whatever they may be, are the security of the king's son. No other possessor shall place his hand on it until Nebo-zabit qati has received the money.—In regard to the reception of the money Nebo ahi iddin, son of Sulai, of the tribe of Egibi, stands as security :

'Babylon the 10th Ulul of the second year of Neriglissar king of Babylon.'

"We see that the king's son acts like the king himself and is not brought personally into the deed. It is his major-domo Nebo zabit qati to whom the debtor binds himself.

"The text of No. 1 inscription in my paper has now been published by Dr. Strassmaier in his 'Inscription von Nabonidus,' No. 265.†

W. ST C. B."

†It is to be observed that this No. 265 forms part of the first fascicule of the inscriptions of Nabonidus published by Mr. Strassmaier, the first fascicule which appeared about six months ago, while the second has only just appeared. In regard to Mr. Boscawen's No. 2, which we have translated in our volume, it had been published as a text more than two years ago in the series of the said contracts at Liverpool under No. 80. It has just been so a second time under number 270. In the second fascicule of the contracts of Nabonidus, Mr. Strassmaier has adopted in this second publication the restorations which he had proposed (*ana simi rasutu*), restorations very different from those proposed by Mr. Boscawen.

V. & E. R.

“Nebo zabit qati of whom mention is here made, is called *ris* of the king, that is to say, chief officer, a high royal functionary, in a tablet, No. 122, dated in the same reign (the third year of Neriglissar) a deed unfortunately mutilated, but which had been drawn up by Nebo ahi iddin himself. We find him again with the title of mayor of the palace (rabbiti) of Belsaruzur or Balthasar, the son of the king, in the year 9 (7) of Nabonidus in a deed of which we shall have to speak farther on. This function of mayor of the palace of the king's son appears therefore to have been at that age one of those high dignities of the court which were preserved under every reign.”

Three pages further on, in pursuing the history of the banker Nebo ahi iddin, we speak as follows:

“In another (deed) he lets for three years to Nebo kinahu, treasurer of Balthasar (Belsaruzur), the king's son, a house, for a mina and a half of silver. We shall give this deed farther on when speaking of the mortgagedrentings. But it proves to us that Nebo ahi iddin had established some relations with the new court.”

Lastly, on p. 395, after having given the translation of the deed itself which Mr. Boscawen has just reproduced, we said:

“This deed is extremely curious. It shows us a slave of the king's son who is married and who fills an office often occupied in other deeds by a free man, that of secretary - purser to the king's son. Not only does he possess a legitimate wife; but he has certainly besides a stock of money over which he nearly exercises the right of master. To sell one of his slaves to a sacred temple in the city of Ur, he employs as apparent intermediary, as *rasutana*, one of his colleagues of the house of the king's son, who himself is a great personage, since it is this man called Nebo zabit qati whom we have already seen under Neriglissar as major-domo of the king's son, which he is still, and distinguished as a great officer of the crown (*ris sarri*) from this very word 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *head and chief* which was used in the time of Bruce, Salt, &c., in Ethiopia to designate the mayor of the palace, generalissimo, and governor in the king's name.”

It appears to us that it would be difficult to be more explicit regarding the basis of the argument which Mr. Boscawen advances in his own name.

As to the text of this deed we would make the remark that he gives it preserving the *lacunæ* which are in Mr. Strassmaier's copy, excepting the proper names, which Mr. Strassmaier and we have restored with ease, and whose restoration he introduces in the text itself. A curious thing! He has none the less, in line 3, kept the same length of *lacuna* as if he had not introduced the name Nebo. No change whatever has been introduced by him in the readings; only, at the end of line 6, Mr. Strassmaier having noted the beginning of a sign which could be completed in two ways, since this beginning is common to 𐎠𐎢𐏁 and to 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 he has completed it by *tum*, which presents no meaning, and again he has marked a *lacuna* after a word *anatum* thus formed, when in reality it must be completed *sim* and read *ana simi*, “for the price of.” At the beginning of the 3rd line we had proposed to fill up the *lacuna* by the letter

ra, and that restoration still seems to us certain. Mr. Boscawen has proposed (in parentheses with a point of interrogation) the letter *na*, which gives him a word *našutu* which he translates doubtfully, it is true, and with a point of interrogation, by the words *the offering*. In reality, *našutu* which would have quite a different sense, could not occur here. The word *rasutu*, on the contrary, which is very frequent in the deeds, is what the context demands. We have at some length spoken of this word *rasutu* in the Proceedings of the Biblical Archaeological Society. The meanings among which one could hesitate are those of a special credit to an intermediary employed in the sales, a mortgagee's credit of a general kind, or a simple credit. In every case the *rasutu* represents a right of credit, and consequently a sum to be claimed back. The question is this: Is it necessary to translate in this contract the preposition $\text{>}<(\text{[} \text{]} \text{]} \text{>}$ by "upon" or by "for"? In a general way, when $\text{>}<(\text{[} \text{]} \text{]} \text{>}$ is written without the letter of prolongation \blacktriangle it signifies "for", and is read in Semitic *ana eli*; when, on the contrary, this group is followed by the letter of prolongation \blacktriangle , (connecting itself with the old pronunciation in Akkadian *muhhi*) it should be translated "upon" and is rather read in Semitic *ina eli*. In all the deeds of loan, &c., it is this last form which is to be found used to fix the debtor. Yet we ought to say here that the settled rule relating to the use of the \blacktriangle as a diacritic mark allows numerous exceptions. We may therefore ask if the price of a slave, paid by the banker Nebo ahi iddin, to the hands of Nebo zabit qati is thus found paid on the account of a debtor or a creditor. If Nebo kin ahi is the debtor as to Nebo zabit qati, it is the latter who has sold him the slave in question, and in that case the mention of a tithe of a temple would indicate only for what, definitively, the price of that slave ought to serve. The major-domo of Balthasar, finding himself a debtor for a tithe to the pleroma of the gods of a temple, would, in order to pay that tithe, sell one of his slaves to one of the functionaries of the household of Balthasar who, although a slave, lived in the style of the slaves of the Roman emperors, had his own wife, his own slaves, and his own money deposited with a banker. The 45 shekels represent, besides, the average price of a Babylonian slave of that period, one of those slaves known by the name of *galla*, *galli*, in the contracts relating to their sale. If one were to accept this hypothesis, the *gallu* whose price is found to be paid by the banker Nebo ahi iddin would become the "vicar" of another slave—to employ for our purpose some terms of Roman law. The imperial inscriptions of the reign of Tiberius shew us what high personages among slaves could be the "vicar" of a slave of the reigning family.

On the contrary hypothesis, that which according to the general rule would translate by "for" $\text{>}<(\text{[} \text{]} \text{]} \text{>}$ deprived of the \blacktriangle of prolongation the major-domo, Nebo zabit qati, would have taken the charge, on the con-

trary, of representing his colleague relatively to the payment at the sale of the said slave—the sale effected by his colleague. In this case, the purchaser could be none other than the temple of the pleroma of gods here named, and the mention of a tithe is introduced, exactly as in a multitude of other deeds in our collection, to indicate the cause of the production of a sum expended by a temple. The accounts of the temples were admirably kept in Chaldea, as we shall shortly show.

Such was our first opinion, and we translated accordingly. One can only hesitate still between two translations, the whole difference between which is based upon the meaning which is to be attributed to the preposition $\text{>}<(\text{I})\text{>}$.

The following is one of these translations :

“Two thirds of a mina 5 shekels of silver (production of tithe) of the temple of the gods Bel, Nebo, Nergal, and of the goddess Belit of the city of Ur, *rasutu* by Nebo zabit qati, mayor of the palace (*rab bit*) of Belsaruzur, son of the king, for Nebo kin ahu secretary - purser (man *sipiri*) slave of Belkaruzur, for the price of Nebo nequti silim, his slave—The money, to wit : $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mina 5 shekels, Nebo zabit qati, mayor of the palace (*rab bit*) of Belsaruzur, son of the king, by the hands of Nebo ahi iddin, son of Sulai, of the race of Egibi, for Nebo kin ahu, received in presence of the woman Dikitum, wife of Nebo kin ahu.”

Now this is the other :

“ $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mina 5 shekels of silver (tithe destined for) the temple of the gods Bel, Nebo, Nergal, and of the goddess Belit of the city of Ur, *rasutu* of Nebo zabit qati, mayor of the palace of Belsaruzur, son of the king, upon Nebo kin ahu, secretary-purser, slave of Belsaruzur, son of the king for the purchase of Nebo nequti silim, his slave. The money, to wit : $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mina 5 shekels, Nebo zabit qati, mayor of the palace of Belsaruzur, son of the king, receive it from the hands of Nebo ahi iddin, son of Sulai, of the race of Egibi (paying) for Nebo kin ahu, in presence of the woman Dikitum, wife of Nebo kin ahu.”

As to the other document of which Mr. Boscawen speaks it would have been better, if it had not been published, that he should have given the text, than to reproduce without modification a text published a long time ago. His transcription is very insufficient; for, when he uses, for example the word *lunit* to represent probably $\text{𐎶} \text{>}<\text{𐎶}$ generally transcribed *tsinu* or *tsinu zikaru* or *tsinu ardu* &c., one could evidently proceed only by conjecture in forming the idea of the text which he has in view.

We may add that these conjectures are sufficient to permit us to affirm that Mr. Boscawen's translation is inaccurate. It is true that our conjectures have to strengthen them some distinct analogous documents which are to be found in our collection, and which we should give here, if they did not demand too long explanations which would carry us beyond a simple claim of priority.

V. & E. REYILLOUT.

Paris, 17th Dec., 1887.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

MAN HAN SI-FANTSYEH-YAO,
A BUDDHIST REPERTORY
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.
(Continued from p. 13).

INTRODUCTION--continued.

WE continue the bibliography begun in our last article :--

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- V. Wassilief.* Buddhism, its dogmas, its history, its literature. Translated by G. A. Lecomme. 8vo, Paris, 1869.
- Various publications of the Pāli texts Society : *Puggala paññatti Āyāramga sutta*, *Thēra* and *Thēri gāthās*, *Āṅguttara nikāya Sa-gātha varga*, &c., &c.
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- Vinaya Texts.* Translated by T. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg. Sacred books of the East. vol. xvii.
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- R. Mitra.* The Sanscrit Buddhist literature of Nepal. London. *Ashtāsahasrikā prajñāpāramitā* ; first edited from Nep. MSS. Fasc. I. Calcutta. 1887.
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- I. Dixon.* The pātimokha. Pāli text with translation.
 -----*M. Müller.* Dhammapada, transl. from Pāli. London, 1870. Introduction to Capt. T. Rogers' Buddhaghosa's parables.
 -----*St. Julien.* Hiouen-tsang. Voyage des pèlerins bouddhistes. 2 vols. Paris, 1857.
 -----*Y. Schmidt.* Ueber das Mahâyâna und Prajñâpâramitâ der Bandhen.—*Fajracedaka.* Texte tibetain et traduction. 4to. St Pet. 1837.

We do not mention the Sanscrit non-Buddhist works, nor the Mandchu, Mongol or Chinese ones.

It would be interesting to know from what special sources our compiler have directly borrowed to form their nomenclature. It has been said above they have not found it ready, for it has in it a mixture of sacred and profane which can find no place in any work. Unfortunately we have not on this subject any precise basis: all the information we possess of the origin and the composition of our book is confined to the brief mention by Father Amiot, which I have noticed above, and there is, in no part of it, a trace of the authors' names.

The materials from which they have borrowed all the terminology belong certainly to the Buddhism of the north: the language of the text, Sanscrit, indicates it sufficiently already; beyond that, we do not see mentioned there either the *triratna* or *tripitaka* which forms the necessary division of Pāli books. Besides, the collection of Buddhist writings, with its dozen parts numbered in section 9 of the 2nd part, is exactly that of the Nepalese texts which Hodgson has made known to Europe. As to the rest, our compilers seem to have desired to be eclectic.

Before proceeding to the translation of our work, it will be right to give a summary of its contents; we must, therefore, draw a sketch of the principal schools of Buddhism.

We know that Buddhism does not remain completely one and uniform, but that there is formed in its heart a great number of schools. The founders of Buddhism had created a system simple and, above all, practical. Their successors, wishing to explain, to examine thoroughly, and to develop, have given it different styles. Besides, the Brahmins, in entering the new church brought into it their philosophical ideas, and adapted them to the new creed; and that in different ways as their systems differed from each other.

We have already remarked, contrary to the ideas primitively held, that Buddhism was than a development, a modification of Brahmanism, than a violent reaction, a religious revolution, and that the first was completely stamped with the spirit of the second. Koepen especially applies himself to demonstrate this fact. He has plainly shown especially that developed Buddhism and the Buddhist philosophy do not differ, except accessorially, from that of the Brahmins; but that comes above all from the

influence exercised by the converts who had formed in their own likeness the developments of the Buddhist metaphysics and cult.

We discern at first sight two great schools which contain all the others, and of which the second in order of time has assumed for its system the name of *Mahâyāna*, while giving to its rival that of *Hinâyāna*. The author of Buddhism had represented its doctrine, the practice of its precepts as a "marga" path; these new disciples considered the doctrine as the means of walking in the *yāna* path, whence the name of *Mahâyāna*, the great vehicle, the great means of making progress. Despising the creed and the practices of those from whom they separated, they described them as *hinâyāna*, a degraded, defective method or vehicle.

The new school had its birth about the commencement of our era, under the inspiration and impulse of the heavenly master, *Nāgārjuna*, who went through the west and the south of India preaching his doctrine, and who wrote many *sāstras*. His system is distinguished by the theory of void, the simultaneousness of contraries and indefinite subtleties.

Two centuries after his time the Mahâyāna was divided into two principal schools, the *Yogacārya*, of which the head, Aryasanga,¹ was inspired by Brahmanic Yoga and some civaic ideas, and the *Madhyānika*, holding the central position—those who pretended to represent the primitive school and to hold the proper mean between the extreme of absolute void and real existence, by admitting an *illusory existence*.

On the other hand the pre-Mahâyānite Buddhism, stigmatised by the innovators by the qualification of *hīna*, was broken into two great divisions, which bore the names of *Sāutrāntika* or votary of the sole substance of the Sūtras, and *Vāibhāshika*, using some Vibhāshā or commentaries, according to the one; or dilemmas (likewise *vibhāshā*) according to others.² They received the Abhidharma. The *Sāutrāntika* already numbered eighteen schools.

Besides this, the Buddhism of the north was broken up into four other schools, represented especially at present in Nepal. These are:

1. The *Svabhāvika* materialists, who did not recognise in everything ought except the *svabhāva* (essential nature proper) material, having for complete production two movements, the *pravṛtti* (movement in front) tending to create, to act, to develop, and the *nivṛtti* (movement behind or of repression) tending to repose, to immobility, and realizing the perfection of nature.

Matter, the only kind of being which exists, is eternal, as well as its powers. In it are activity and intelligence. All its operation and its mode of existence is summed up in two terms, action and repose, concretion or abstraction (*pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*). The *nivṛtti* is its first and final condition: in that state it is reduced to an infinitesimal quantity in an absolute repose, and withdrawn from all visible, sensible, form; but this even is endowed with attributes of infinite faculties. By its own nature the Svabhāva arises from its repose to enter upon activity, a

passing condition for it, and one destined to lose itself in repose. Then all forms are produced, all beings with all their beauties display themselves to enter into infinite dispersion and repose. It is the Svabhāva which works all this with intelligence. Altogether it is a divinity at once material and intelligent which produces all its substance. All inanimate forms perish without leaving any trace; animate forms (which include man) subsist, and can by their efforts and their virtues proceed to the condition of *nirvṛtti*; but they can do nothing upon the world, or to aid the efforts of other intelligent beings. Each one, for himself and by himself, works towards his deliverance by perfecting his faculties, shutting himself up in abstraction. When he has come to know the nature of being and its actions, principally the *nirvṛtti*, he is omniscient, Buddha and may be worshipped. Happiness and unhappiness, temporal and eternal, is the direct unavoidable consequence of actions good or bad.

One special class of materialists substitute the *prajñā* for the *svabhāva*. This *prajñā* is the collection, the suppositum of all the faculties and powers of the universe. The end of man is to be associated with his activity.

2. The *Āiçvarika* who recognised a supreme spiritual being, an *īçvara* but without empire over the world, a god occupying the *nirvṛtti* in which man should find his final happiness, but by merely human acts and without cooperation of the *īçvara*. This Supreme Being is the *Ādibuddha*, the supreme, original Buddha.

The efforts which every one ought to make in order to attain to deliverance consist in the exercise of the virtues and the repression of the passions, (*tapas*), and meditation. By these acts and these virtues the faculties are developed in such a way as to increase them indefinitely, to raise them to heaven, and to render them partakers of the nature of the *īçvara* or *Ādibuddha*.

This supreme being is to the *Āiçvarikas* the fulness of the perfections, infinite without either member or movement of passion, separated from all things and united to everything, infinite in the forms which he produces by the *pravrṛti*, himself without form in himself, in the *nirvṛtti*, prime intellectual essence, revealed by its will. Being alone true, its nature is *nirvṛtti*; but to produce beings he has given himself the five means of knowledge (P. I sec. VI.) and by them has created the five Buddhas of contemplation, those which have produced the five *Bodhisattvas* of the same kind which have produced all beings, all the elements of the *pravrṛti*.

In the beginning there was nothing individual, in motion or transitory. All was *Mahāçāṃpatā*. But *Ādi Buddha* existed without form, without internal movement, and revealed himself as Fire.

Certain books (*Karaṇḍavyūha*, *Nāmasaṅgīti*) exalt the *Ādi Buddha* still higher than that: "It is the cause of all existence, of the well being of all; it has produced everything by its meditation. Existing

of himself, an ocean of infinitive perfections, eternal, without form, but the form and type of everything, &c., &c."

3. The *Kârmika* who, based upon a first spiritualistic principle, without providence, teaches that man arrives at happiness—final repose—by the acts of the virtues: *Karma*, by the development of his moral faculties. This development enlarges his nature, elevates it, renders it superhuman, and capable of participating in that of the supreme Principle.

The *Kârmika* system places as the principle of all things the *prajñâ*, or the total intelligent force of nature. In it is a principle of activity which by it produces all acts and which is called *upaya*. From their union is born the *manas* or principle of knowledge, common energy of the senses; from this *manas* are born the virtues and vices to the number of ten.

The whole existence of the changing and transitory world is derived from the false opinion of this existence (*pratyaya*), of false knowledge (*avidyâ*) which engenders this opinion or faith. This *avidyâ* and this *pratyaya* exists first in the sentient and perceptive principle, *manas*, before it is individualized and embodied. This conviction begets the desire for the reality of this existence (*sanskâra*, rather: spurious creation, conception). Next is born the consciousness of the individual illusory existence, *viññâna*, and from this latter the knowledge of forms and of names, a perceptible individual form of particular beings; thence proceeds the existence of individual physical and intellectual beings which are the objects of perception by the senses, *śadâyatana*, and the senses, likewise, from which proceed naturally the perception of the properties of things by the perceptive principle individualized and embodied; that of the physical and moral qualities (*vedanâ*), and from this last the desire of, and attachment to those objects and qualities (*trshyâ*) and which impels the intelligent being to seize those objects to enjoy them (*upadâna*). This operation of the perceptive being produces thence material existence (*bhâva*), and the birth of living each according to his kind and the life of these is ended by old age and death. Thus is evolved the *pravṛtti* until the intelligent being shakes off the *avidyâ*. Then all the *Karma* disappear and with them all sentient beings.

4 The *Yâtika*, which is distinguished from the preceding in this that it places the middle of salvation in the efforts of the understanding contemplating and studying the truth. These human efforts, for them, as for the *Kârmikas*, transform nature.

The *Yâtikas* recognize also the *Içvara*, *Âdibuddha*, and make from *prajñâ* his power. From *prajñâ* he produces *Yatna* (intellectual force) which engenders the *pravṛtti*, but serves also to conquer it and make it return into the *nirvṛtti*. By *Yatna* he produces the five senses, from

which arise the five Buddhas, fathers of the Buddhisatvas who produced the world.

It is impossible for us to give here more details upon the principles of those various schools; many, besides, have no interest in regard to our book. Let us confine ourselves to some principal notions of the Mahâyâna. And first, not to be too much surprised by it, let us recall that from the Vedic times the Hindu thinkers were accustomed to work more by imagination than by judgment, and to argue upon the words rather than the ideas; that a word was to them a notion, and that they little attempted to sound the depths of a conception, that the simultaneousness of contraries (but not their identity) was an admitted thesis from the origin of philosophism.³ The Brahmanic theories have for ontological principle what is inscribed at the beginning of the Mānavadharmagâstra:

“It was IT,⁴ darkness-made, undiscerned, without any character, undistinguishable, unknowable by the reason, and as if enveloped in a sleep.” It is this abyss which the spirit cannot know, and to which one cannot give any attribute, that has given birth to the Buddhist non-being.

To the Mahâyânists the *tañ* is the void *śūnyatā*, and they have developed this theory in all its consequences.

In the beginning is the Void, and the void exists by itself; it is and it is not: it exists but as negative being, opposed to everything which exists perceptibly, and the perceptible being does not exist in connection with it. The void is the being at the same time abstract and real, which exists in everything without being confined in anything, which contains everything and contains nothing. Subject-object, on its face non-existent, it enters into the mind and there becomes subjective; the void is everything and nothing. In everything which may be conceived, it is neither being nor non-being, neither eternal nor non-eternal, neither I, nor not-I; all is illusion except the void,⁵ and this void is the final term of being human or divine. To arrive at this, it ought not only to detach itself from all which is perceptible and temporal, but to repel from its mind all idea of exterior and interior objects, all speculation upon their resemblance or difference, whereas everything is neither unlikely nor different.

We cannot longer protract this exposition of principles. The other necessary notions will be found successively in the notes to our text.

C. DE HARLEZ.

NOTES.

1) The *Yogâcâra* had as its founder Āryasaṅgha of Purushapūra, about the 1st or 2d century A.C. He develops his system in his book the *Yogâcâryabhūmi gâstra*, where he seeks to reconcile the doctrines of Mahâyâna with those of the Brahmanic Yoga and with the tantra of these and their practice of magic.

2) Both of these admit the reality of perceptible beings, but the first did not admit but a mediate knowledge of it. The second distinguished

some beings eternal and non-eternal, and classed all the composite among these last.

3) Already, in the Vedas, we have seen it affirmed that the *tad* was neither being nor non-being. V., x. 129, 1, 2. Therewas neither *sat* nor *asat*, but *tad* alone.

4) *Tad*, that, *idem*, that itself.

5) We see further on that this void is not, however, what we call nothingness. Beneath these notions of *asat* and *çânyatâ* there was a positive conception which is too often misunderstood. *Sat* and *asat* mean one and the other in a certain manner, and not absolutely.

The learned Iranist, Sanskritist, and Sinologist, author of the previous article, has just published a valuable and interesting work : *La Religion naturelle des Tartares Orientaux. Mandchous et Mongols, comparée à la Religion des Anciens Chinois, d'après les textes indigènes, avec le Rituel Tartare de l'Empereur K'ien-long, traduit pour la première fois* (Bruxelles, 1887), 8vo, 216 pp. and plates). This work, done with the usual care and accuracy of its author, presents for the first time sound information on its subject to the students of comparative religion. Prof. Dr. de Harlez has given there a new instalment of his Mandchu studies, to which we are indebted for his *Manuel de la langue Mandchoue* ; Grammaire, Anthologie et Lexique, Paris, 1884, 8vo, pp. 232, and his *Histoire de l'Empire de Kin ou Empire d'Or, Aisin gurun-i suduri bithe, traduite pour la première fois* (Louvain, 1887, pp. xvi, 281 and map, gr. 8vo). T. de L.

TWO EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.



I HAVE noted two monuments in the Louvre that will perhaps interest the readers of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*. First, a fragment of a clepsydra or water clock from a temple; (see *The Academy*, Nov. 19, 1887).

This specimen (the third that I know of) was evidently of the same form as the others,—a basalt bowl, with scales marked inside, varying to suit the variable hours between sunrise and sunset, at different times of the year. Water trickled through a hole at the bottom marking the time,—hour glass fashion.


The Louvre specimen is smaller and of far inferior workmanship to those of the British Museum. It bears the names of a Ptolemy probably Soter. Through the courtesy of M. Pierret, I have been able to copy and measure it inside and out.


The other monument, which has been published more than once, is interesting as being the calendar which Nechtnebf (Nechtanebo II) placed in the temple of Goshen at the time that he supplied it with so many rich monuments. Many of his gifts are represented on the shrine that M. Naville discovered, but I do not recollect any reference to this calendar.

The portion that remains shows that it was in the form of a shrine nearly square, and probably obelisk-shaped, terminating in a plain pyramidion. This latter with perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ of the sides remains covered with minute hieroglyphs and scenes which are in good condition, except where they have been intentionally cut out for some purpose.

The shrine may have been used later as a trough. The front is very much worn down. It shows the winged cartouches . These signs would scarcely be identifiable, were one not led to expect them by the style of the monument (unmistakeably XXXth dynasty), and by the name of the temple,  which recurs continually upon it.

The inscriptions on the back and sides relate to decans and have been published by M. Pierret and their meaning explained, but the exact nature and date of the monument, numbered D. 37, I believe had not before been made clear.

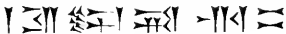

A granite sarcophagus D. 4, furnishes a clear and unblundered copy of the decoration of the earthenware coffins at Tell el Yahûdiyeh. Strange to say there is not the usual face sculptured upon it. The goddess Nut is standing spreading her wings over the upper part, (at Tell el Yahûdiyeh she seemed to be kneeling). Below there is a line of hieroglyphs down the legs beginning , as in the least blundered specimens at Tell el Yahûdiyeh, and on each side are four divinities seated, the four genii of the dead, with Horus, Seb and two forms of


Anubis.¹ Short inscriptions  (as at Tell el Yahûdiyeh) are in front of each. The name of the deceased is Amenhotep and the sarcophagus is attributed to the XVIIIth dynasty.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

1) On one of the coffins from Tell el Yahûdiyeh there appeared to be a figure of Thoth.

ISTAR TARIBI.

IN No. 7 of the RECORD we published an oath addressed to a man named  son of , and on the subject of which we said :

“The name *Issartaribi* is curious. The divine element being applied to a female divinity, as the third pers. fem. *taribi*, indicates, recalls the name of the goddess *Istar*, and it appears to us very probable that it is a designation of that goddess. The ideogram , which has the readings *sar* or *šar*, signifies ‘to write’, and represents, from this point of view, in a Semitic language the verb *sataru* or *šataru*. The syllable which precedes would thus be one of those phonetic complements as frequent in Babylonian as in Egyptian.”

A tablet in our collection, that which is numbered 97 and which, like the preceding, coming from Sippara, is dated in the reign of Darius, goes to prove, with certainty, that our hypothesis as to the name of that personage was well founded.

In fact, in this tablet the same individual son of the same father appears as creditor for $\frac{5}{6}$ of a mina and 5 shekels, that is to say, for 55 shekels. Now, on this occasion, his name is written with all the letters Istar-taribi. The following is the tablet in question :

No. 97.



“ $\frac{5}{6}$ of a mana 5 shekels of silver in engraved¹ shekel pieces, credit of Istartaribi son of Ramanu-ibni upon Mannuki . . . son of Bel-tapik-ziru ---In the month Sivan he will give the money, to wit : $\frac{5}{6}$ of a mana 5 shekels.

LAMENT OVER THE DESOLATION OF UR (MUKEYYER.)

The following is a tentative translation of a Sumerian (dialectic) text, K. 3931, which, in the original, is unaccompanied by any interlinear Babylonian translation. This inscription refers to the desolation of the temple of the goddess of Ur (whose image seems to have been carried off by some invading enemy) and is in the form of a lamentation over the state of the city and its holy places. As this text is in Sumerian only, it is naturally very difficult to translate, and further researches will probably enable improvements to be made in the rendering here given.

The original text is inscribed on the lower portion (looking on the obverse) of a very finely-moulded and beautifully-written tablet, the obverse bearing 20, and the reverse 19 lines of writing. The text proper is divided into three sections marked off by division-lines, with an additional line of writing at the end of the first, and three lines at the end of the last section. The usual short colophon of Assurbanipal is inscribed at the end.

The text of the inscription will be found on plates 11 and 12 of S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts* (Leipzig, 1887).

TRANSCRIPTION.



- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | | -tug |
| 2 | | un-ma-ma |
| 3 | | suġ azag-ga |
| 4 | [ir]-ra nu-un- | un-šeš-šeš |
| 5 | ib-ba libiš-a-na | ir-ra nu-un-ma-ma |
| 6 | mu-un-na ana-ra | i-si-iš |
| 7 | ur-ri-mi-a | mu-un-zal-li |
| 8 | ur-ri-mi-a mu-un-zal-li | i-dib nu-(un-zal-li) |
| 9 | gu-le-de-da uri-mi-a | nu-un-šid-de |
| 10 | gašan-gal-e ki-kur-ra | ba-da-ku |
| 11 | e-bi-na azag-ga kib-kib-bi | ni-bur-bur |
| 12 | a-gig-ga i-i gašan-e | nu-un-šid-de |
| 13 | e šaba-bi lil-la-am, | bara-bi lil-la-am |
| 14 | šaba-bi si-ga | ni-gul-gul-li |
| 15 | de-bi | hi-li-a ni-(gul-gul-li). |
| 16 | En-na la-bar-bi la-bar | nu-du ba-ra-an-ga |
| 17 | É zi-zikar-ra | ni-gul-gul-li |
| 18 | ur-ri li-na li-bi a-ba | tar-ri |




- 20 Ê-zida, the building Ê-kiš-nu-gala.
 21 The city of Ur is a house of gloom in the land--
 22 Ê-kiš-nu-gala of the god Ur
-
- 23 To heaven and earth he gives rest ;
 24 heaven in earth he incloses,
 25 Father Ur, lord of Ur,
 26 To the great Lady, the Lady of Ê-kiš-nu-gala,
 27 give thou rest,
 28 Heaven with earth, heaven with earth together,
 29 The heaven of Uraš, the place *še-qu-nu-e*,
 30 Êa and Damkina, Ên-ûl and Nin-ûl
 31 En-da-u-na and Nin-da-u-na,
 32 En-tul-azaga and Nin-tul-azaga,
 33 En-û-tila and En-me-šara,
 34 The princess, spirit of Heaven, the lady of the mountain.
-
- 35 Ê-kiš-nu-gala, the place he will restore.
 36 of Sin may he be.
 37 (wanting) complete.
-
- 38 [Like its old copy] written and made clear.
 39 [Country of Aššur-bani-âpli, king of multitudes, king of] Assyria.

REMARKS.




Between the first and the second lines is a wide blank space, indicating that a short line, now entirely lost, originally stood there.



Line 4. The traces lend themselves so well to the restoration *irra munšešesēš*, that it may be regarded as quite certain.

Line 5. The character , which is the first of the line, is quite certain. The fourth character from the end is . The whole line therefore reads *ibba libišāna irra nunmunu*.

Line 6. The first character may be regarded as an ideograph, with the value of *mu*, the second character ( *mu*) being possibly a kind of phonetic determinative. For  = *zamāru*, "to cry out," with the pronunciation of *mū*, see W. A. l. 11. pl. 20, l. 3 *ab*. In the first line of the same plate we see  with the same rendering, and therefore, possibly, with the same pronunciation.

Line 7. *Urri-nu*, "day and night"--also *ni-uri-ni* = *mūsi u ūrri*, *mūsa u urri*, "night and day" (W. A. l. iv., 26, No. 8, &c.).

Line 8. In this line the  of *idib* stands under the  of the foregoing line, leaving a considerable blank space at the end. This, as we learn from similar passages in other texts, signifies that a word is to be repeated, and the character  *mu*, following *idib*, shows that we are to supply here the word at the end of the line above, *munzalli*.

Line 9. In this, as well as in line 12,  is a single character, the  being written small, and with the tops, not the bottoms,

of the wedges, ranging. This group is equivalent to the Semitic Babylonian *pašāhu*, "to be comforted."

Line 11. The translation "desolation" for *kabkibbi* is doubtful.

Line 12. The characters $\sum\sum\sum$, $\sum\sum$, \sum , are a reduplication of the root $\sum = na'adu$ or *nādu*, "to be glorious." For *šid* in *munšidde*, see the note to line 9.

Line 13. The meaning of *lilla* is "vapour", "wind", hence "destruction", "desolation".

Line 15. Here the character Δ , *hi*, ranges with $\sum\sum$, *ni*, in the line above, and the blank space at the end shows that the character *ni* of line 15 is to be completed as transcribed *nigulgulli*.

Line 19. The word *šeb* is the dialectic form of $\sum\sum\sum\sum$, *šeg = libittu*, "brickwork."

Line 20. *Ê-kis-nugula*. The probable meaning of this name is "the house of the universe unmade (with hands)."

Line 28--34. As there seems to be no verb in all these lines, it is very likely that the verbal form in line 27 ("give thou rest") is intended to apply to the whole.

Line 37. The characters *hîbi* ("wanting", indicating that the scribe's copy was defective) are written small in the original.

A translation of a text of a similar nature, entitled "The Erechite's lament over the desolation of his fatherland" will be found in the *B. & O. R.*, vol. I, p 21.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

Prof. Eugène Revillout, who deserves to be called a Benedictine giant, from the enormous amount of good work he has been going through for some years, has just published his *Second Mémoire sur les Blemmyes d'après les inscriptions démotiques des Nubiens*, Paris, 1887, 4to. 47 pp. printed, and 24 pp. autogr. His first *Mémoire sur les Blemmyes* had been published fifteen years ago by the Académie des Inscriptions. The Blemmyes of Ethiopia around Meroë fought against the Romans at the time of Augustus, but very little was hitherto known about them, their kings, and their rule. T. de L.

ZUMRU AND ZAMĀRU.

IN the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* of last May, some remarks on the words *Zumru* and *Zamāru* were made by T. G. P., who suggests the derivation of these words from the Arabic root *Zamara*.

The second word, *Zamāru*, is clearly derived from a noun of action, of the root *Zamara*, which means "to cry (said of an ostrich)"; hence, also comes the idea--coupled with the first meaning of the root, "to play the flute"--"to sing."

Therefore the accepted meanings for *Zamāru* "to sing," "to bray," and the form of the word itself decidedly proves it, I should think, to be connected with the Arabic.

With regard to the word *Zumru*, we find in the lexicons that the noun of Unity, *Zumrat*, with the plural *Zumarun* has, amongst other meanings, that of a body (of a man), "a meaning which can be traced to a meaning of the root, and which is "to fill (a leathern bag or bottle)". This, of course, can also signify "a receptacle," "a vessel," or "body." Then comes the idea of leather, skin or flesh, in the root; therefore it is perfectly reasonable to accept the two words *Zamāru* and *Zumru* as being, or derived from, the Arabic; although the correct transliteration of the Arabic words are *Zumrat* or, if in the plural, *Zumarun* (the *n* of course being the simple nunation) and *Zumārun*. But at a time when some of the most competent Orientalists are still unable to agree on a simple correct and uniform mode of transliterating the Semetic Alphabets, and vowel sounds, and when far grosser blunders than the substitution of an *a* for an *u* are made, we can very well accept the words *Zumru* and *Zamaru* reaching us in their present form.

HABIB ANTHONY SALMONÉ.

EGYPTIAN FUNEREAŁ CONES.

THE cones of pottery, stamped with names and titles on their base, which are so frequently found near the tombs at Thebes, have scarcely received the attention which they deserve. It is hardly needful to remind the reader that Prof. Maspero has well explained their use, as fictitious offerings of bread loaves; both their form, their whitened outsides, and their analogy to similar offerings for the use of the *ka* or double, fully confirm this view. They bear usually the name and offices of the deceased person; and are equivalent in interest to the shorter funereal stela. While at Thebes last spring I collected from the Arabs there a considerable number of cones; and on classifying them they showed over a

hundred varieties. Usually more than one example is needed to fix the text; as, owing to defective stamping or injuries, a few characters are often obliterated. It is necessary to employ some distinct classification in dealing with a collection of several hundreds, in order to identify the duplicates. As the names are often defective, they cannot be followed for this purpose; and I have found that the simplest and best plan is to arrange the cones according to their lines of inscription. I would suggest to those who have such objects in their charge to adopt this system for convenience of reference and research. Beginning with those bearing the largest number of vertical columns of inscription, we proceed from 5 to 4, 3, and 2 columns; next come those reading vertically in three or two parts without dividing lines; then, in the reverse direction, we proceed to the horizontal inscriptions in two or three parts; and lastly, take the horizontal inscriptions between lines, of 2, 3, 4, or 5 lines. At the end the various forms of squares, cartouches, &c., may be placed. Under such of these 14 classes subdivisions may be made by taking first those beginning with *amakhi kher Asar* (devoted to Osiris), then those with *Asar* (the Osirian), and lastly those without religious formulæ. Thus by this system anyone can at the first glance at a cone refer it certainly to one of 30 or 40 different categories: at which stage of subdivision it is easy to compare it with all that are in the same class, either in a publication or in a museum thus arranged.

Such a system of classification has also a true historic value, as it places together all that were made under one fashion. And on looking over a collection thus arranged, the similarity of workmanship of those which fall side by side is very apparent; my own collection is thus prepared for publication. The earliest seem to be those with three horizontal lines, and lumpy hieroglyphs, belonging to the XIIth dynasty apparently, (Prof. Maspero, however, mentions some of the XIth): whereas the latest forms are usually in vertical lines crowded with thin wiry hieroglyphs.

It is to be hoped that the keepers of various museums will see their way to publishing complete lists of the cones in their care, in a classified form for reference.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

THE NETHINIM.¹

Who were the *Nethinim* whose names are given in detail in *Ezra* ii and *1**Ch.* vii? This is a problem which cannot be said to have been satisfactorily solved. The usual answer is that they were war-captives dedicated to the service of the temple, whence their name נתינים (*Duti sc. Deo vel Templo*): it is also generally added on Rabbinic authority that the main body was formed of descendants of the Gibeonites (*Jos.* ix). This answer is so far right that it recognises that the *Nethinim* were attached to the Temple and were descendants of captives taken in war. But it leaves out of account and fails to explain the abnormally degraded position of these *Nethinim*. Other captives were ultimately amalgamated with the Jews who were allowed to take a female captive to wife (*Deut.* xxi. 10—13): these *Nethinim* and their descendants, male and female, were interdicted from marriage with the Israelites for all time (*Mish. Jeb.* viii. 3.). They were thus a class of *pariahs* and yet were attached to the Temple which would, one should have thought, cast some shadow of its sanctity over all persons connected with it. This union of sacred service and social degradation is the puzzle connected with the *Nethinim*: the following remarks are intended as a solution.

We may first put in some evidence as to their degraded condition. The fact that they are enumerated separately in the list of the returned exiles is sufficient to show that they were a class set apart. And if the same care was taken with their genealogy as with that of the Priests and Levites, this can only have been in order that marriages with them might be avoided. Herzfeld (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, II, ii. 243—4) urges from the silence of *Ezra*, ix. 1 *Neh.* xiii. 23 that the prohibition against marriage with *Nethinim* is of later date, though the Talmud states it was established by David (*Jeb.* 78 b) and the Midrash (*Bam. R.* viii) by Ezra. He gives, however, no account of its later origin, and the *argumentum e silentio* may be turned the other way, if we can show that the *Nethinim* were so despised that no legislation would seem necessary to preserve the Jews from the pollution of such marriages, no more than if they had been idiots or lepers. This was certainly the case in the time of the Mishna. In *Jeb.* ii. 4 we read:

איסור ... נתינות ונתינה לישראל ובת ישראל לנתן ונתיך
A female bastard and a female Nethin are prohibited (to marry)

an Israelite and a daughter of Israel to a *Nathin* or a bastard.' Further in *Jeb.* viii. 3, it is said that the prohibition against Moabites and Ammonites, Egyptians and Edomites, though mentioned in the Bible, only applies for a certain number of generations, and does not apply at all to their daughters, but it is added: **במזרין ובנתנין איסורין ואיסור עולם אהדוברים ואחד נקבות**. *Bastards and Nethinim are prohibited (to marry Israelites) and this prohibition is perpetual and applies both to males and females.*² A table of precedence in *Jer. Hovaioth* iii. 5. 48^a classifies the people in fifteen classes of which the first three are (1) the sage (2) the King (3) the high-priest, and the last form (12) a bastard (13) a *Nathin* (14) a proselyte (15) a freedman.³ All this, and the evidence might be considerably amplified,⁴ will be sufficient to show the degraded position of these unfortunate beings who were put on the same level as bastards⁵ and regarded as moral lepers.

No explanation of this degradation is given in the Talmud. For the explanation given (*Jeb* 79a *Bam. rabba* § viii) that the Gibeonites were for ever separated from Israelites, because they did not possess the three distinctive qualities of a Jew—hospitality, modesty and mercy—cannot be said to bear the stamp of authentic history. And the Rabbinic identification of Gibeonites and *Nethinim* is only founded on one of those combinations of which the Rabbis were as lavish as an extraordinary professor at a German University. In *Jos.* ix 27, the Gibeonites are said to have been made by Joshua '*hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of the Lord unto this day in the place where he should choose.*' This description answered well enough to the position of the *Nethinim* for the identification to be made by the Rabbis, and it would doubtless be associated by the paronomasia involved in the use of the word **ויתנם** in the passage of Joshua. There is no confirmation elsewhere in the Bible. In II *Sam.* xxii. 19 David permits the Gibeonites to revenge themselves on Saul's children for injuries done to them by Saul, and this implies that they held no such degraded position as that of *Nethinim*. And in Ezra's time we have distinct evidence⁶ that the Gibeonites were separate from the *Nethinim*. For "the men of Gibeon" with "Melatiah the Gibeonite" at their head repaired a piece of the wall of Jerusalem near the Old Gate on the west side of the city (*Jer.* iii. 7), while the *Nethinim* dwelt at Ophel on the east side (*ibid.* 26). Altogether, the Talmudic identification of Gibeonites and *Nethinim* utterly breaks down on close examination and, even if better established, fails to account for their degradation lower than any of the other Canaanites.

Nor does the Bible account of them help us out of the difficulty. All we learn from this source is that the *Nethinim* returned to Palestine from Babylon in two batches the first numbering 392 souls, (*Ezr.* ii. 58) the second 220 (*Ezr.* viii. 20). The names of the former are given

in duplicate (Ezr. ii and Neh. vii), but not those of the latter, though it is mentioned that 'all of them were expressed by name, (Ezr. viii 20) : this second batch came from a place (in Persia) called Casiphia now unknown (*ibid.* 5. 16), and were persuaded to come by 'their brother Iddo. They were located 'at Ophel over against the water-gate toward the east and the tower that lieth out' (Neh. iii. 26) though curiously enough, no part of the wall is said to have been actually built by them, unless 'the house of the Nethinim', mentioned in v. 31, was so-called from being built by them, which is very improbable. The Nethinim were doubtless placed there to be near the Temple where they served under the Levites (Ezr. vii. 20) and like all those attached to the Sanctuary they were freed from all tolls (ib. vii. 24) from which in leel they must have been supported, as Herzfeld elaborately argues (l. c. II i. 140). Incidentally Ezra mentions (vii. 20) that they had been "appointed by David and the princes to serve the Levites" but who they were, why they were appointed, what were their functions, and, above all, why they were so degraded, is still left unexplained. Thus neither Bible nor Talmud give us an explicit answer to the puzzling question : Who were the Nethinim ?

No one seems to have thought of solving these difficulties by subjecting to a critical analysis the names of the Nethinite families given in Ezr. ii. 43-58, Neh. vi. 46-60. The latter list, in my opinion, best preserves the original orthography, and may be here given as the list of

I. THE FIRST BATCH OF NETHINIM.⁸

- יב' סיעא (5), יב' קורס (4), יב' מבעות (3), יב' השופא (2), בני זחא (1)
 יב' שלמי (9), יב' חגבא (8) (לבנא, *cu'gò*, Baer), יב' לבנה (7), יב' פדון (6)
 יב' רעין (14), יב' ראיה (13), יב' גהר (12), יב' גדל (11), יב' דגן (10)
 יב' בסי (19), יב' פכה (18), יב' עזא (17), יב' גזם (16), יב' נקודא (15)
 יב' בקבוק (22), (נפישים' קרי) יב' נפוששים (21), יב' מעומים (20)
 יב' מחדא (26), יב' בעלית (25), יב' חרהור (24), יב' הקופא (23)
 יב' תמח (30), יב' סיסרא (29), יב' ברקוס (28), יב' הרשא (27)
 יב' חטיפא (32), יב' נעיה (31)

and to these we add, as they are counted with them,

The Sons of Solomon's Servants.

- יב' דרקון (37), יב' יעלא (36), יב' פרנדא (35) יב' ספרת (34), יב' סוטני (33)
 יב' ספרה הנביים (41), יב' חטיל (40), יב' שפטיה (39) יב' גדל (38)
 יב' אמין (42)

In Neh. xi. 21 it is mentioned that Zihā and Gispa were over the *Nethinim* (גשפא זיחא). Bertheau, in commenting on the list in Ezr. ii. assumes that this Zihā was the same as No. 1, and that therefore all the names contained in the list are those of men living at the time. If this were so, I may say at once that much of my argument falls to the ground. But several reasons render this improbable. There are

only 42 families to the 392 souls: this gives 9 per family, much too high an average for a father and his children. Then some of the names do not appear to be those of persons at all. The *Bené-Tubá'oth* (No. 3) had probably charge of the *riings* (טבעית) connected with the Temple (cf. Ex. xxv. 12, xxvi. 24, xxviii. 28) and the next name *Bené Keros* suggests that the persons indicated by it took care of the hooks (קרם) also used in it (cf. Ex. xxvi. 6, xxxv. 11.) The *Bené Gazzam* (No. 16) possibly sheared the sheep offered for use in the Temple. The two *Sophereth* (Nos. 34 and 41) might have been connected with the writing of the sacred rolls: the article attached to the former in the parallel passage in Ezra would indicate that it was an official name, not a personal one. And other names though not of office, are yet clearly not personal. The *Mé'uim* (No. 20) were an Arab tribe with whom the Jews had fought (II. Chr. xxvi. 7); and we may conclude that the *Bené M.* were captives made during the campaign: a similar conclusion holds good of the next item, the *Bené Nephisim* (No. 21), though no tribe of that name is elsewhere mentioned. Again Rezin was the name of a well-known king of Syria (II. Kings xv. 37), and the *Bené Rezin* (No. 14) were probably descendants of prisoners captured in the Jewish war against this King (ib. xvi. 5). The same might apply to the *Bené Siseva* (No. 29) if this did not indicate too distant a date (*Jud.* iv). But the most remarkable thing about the list is the large number of names ending in נָי (Nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 15, 17, 23, 26, 27, 29, 32, 35, 36.) Now נָי is the usual Aramaic ending for feminines (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. d. bibl. Aramaischen* §50 Anm. 3, p. 84) and it would be highly improbable that so large a number of men's names should have this feminine ending. And with this clue to guide us we observe other names equally feminine in form, *בנלית* (No. 7) *לננה* (No. 25) and the two *ספפת* (Nos. 34 and 41). Remembering too that *Sara* was *Sarai* when in Aramaic we may include *שלמי* (No. 9) *בטי* (No. 19) and *סרטי* (No. 33) among our feminine forms while the instance of Athaliah shows us that forms like *ראיה* (No. 13) and *שפטיה* (No. 39) might be as much feminine as masculine. Nor need we depend solely upon mere forms in drawing the conclusion that the names of those from whom the Nethinim traced their descent were women. We know the fondness of the Hebrews for giving 'biological' names to their women, e. g., Rachel (*ewe*) Debora (*bee*) Jacl (*chamois*) Huldah (*weasel*) Kezia (*cassia*) Hadassa (*myrtle*). In our list we find no less than four names of this kind: Libanah (No. 7 *poplar*), Hagaba (No. 8 *grasshopper*), Bakbuk (No. 22 *gourd*) and Ia'ala, No. 36 *chamois*). Again Harsha (No. 27 *witch*) and Hatipha (No. 32 *female captive*) are scarcely names to be applied to men, and many of the remaining ones are more appropriate for women, e. g., Padon (6. *redemption*) Hanan (10. *grace*) Thanah (*joy*) Neziali (*victory*), and altogether there are

only six of the personal names (Nos. 11, 12, 24, 28, 37, 38,) which are not feminine either in form or in meaning, and none of these is necessarily a man's name.

Nor is this all. I fancy I can restore the name-list of the second batch of *Nethinim*, and this, we shall see, presents the same characteristics. It is distinctly mentioned of these (*Ezr.* viii. 20) '*all of them were expressed by name*', yet we have no further mention of them in the Bible. It is probable however that their genealogy was preserved, and it may be conjectured that the three additional names of the first list contained in the parallel passage of Ezra חגב, עקוב and אסנה came from this source. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the Greek apocryphal book of Esdras (v. 29--34 ed. Fritzsche) contains these as well as six additional names Καθολά, Ουτά, Κητάβ, Ἀσαρί, Φαρακίμ, Κοῦσα, among the *Nethinim* and it adds no less than eight names at the end of the sons of Solomon's servants, Σαρωθί, Μισαίος, Γάς, Ἀῶτος, Σουβά, Ἀφειρρά, Βαρωτίς, Σαφάγ. It is extremely unlikely that the Greek writer took the trouble to invent these outlandish names, and he must have obtained them from some more complete edition of the Biblical Ezra. If we may identify the Ἀῶτος of the apocrypha with the אדר of *Esr.* viii. 17, this gives a point of connexion between these additional names and those of the second batch. Further as Zilha and Gispa were over the *Nethinim* and the *B nî-Zilha* were at the head of the first batch, the *Benî-Gispa*, were probably at the head of the second. We may now proceed to restore to the pages of the Bible the name-list of

II. THE SECOND BATCH OF NETHINIM.

- (i) בני גשפא (ii) עקוב ב' חגב (iii) חגבא or אגבא (*Ἀγγαβά* *Esd.*)
 (iv) אסנה ב' אסנה (v) קמורא ב' (l) עוטא ב' כתב (viii) אשוריאם
 (ix) פרקם ב' כותא ב' שרותי ב' משיה (xii) גת (xiii) ב' גת
 (xiv) אדו ב' אדו (xv) סובא ב' (*cf.* *Ezek.* xxiii. 42) עפרא ב'
 (xvii) ברודית ב' (xviii) שגך ב'

If this were the complete list, it would give an average of 12 to each family, not too far removed from the average of 9 in the first batch. If this average of 9 persons to a family also applied to the second batch there would be about six names missing from the above list. But whether complete or no, or whether these names are of the second lot or no, there can be little doubt that they were names of *Nethinim*, and it is of interest to our inquiry to observe how closely this new list resembles the old one. We have names of office in the *writers* (No. vii) and the *pourers of libation* (No. xviii), names of enemies from whom slaves had been captured (Nos. viii, ix, xiii), names ending in אָ (Nos. i, iii, v, vi, x, xv, xvi) or הָ (No. iv) in י (No. xi) ית (No. xvii) and יה (No. 12), three biological names, Hagaba (*grasshopper*), Azna (*bramble*) and Ophra (*flower*), and

only two names אדר and עקוב are not clearly those of women. Our previous suspicion is raised to positive conviction by this remarkable confirmation from an unlooked for quarter, and we state with a considerable degree of confidence that the *Nethinim* could only trace their ancestry up to women.¹¹

(To be continued).

JOSEPH JACOBS.

NOTES.

1) The original form is probably the passive participle given in the *Khetib* of Ezr. viii. 17. נתונים, a word which is likewise applied to the Levites, Numb. viii. 17. The singular נתין does not occur in the Bible, but is not infrequent in the Mishna.

2) In *Kiddl* viii. 3, it was explained whom the *Nethinim* might marry, גרי וחוררי נמזורי ונתני שתקוואסופי כולם מותרין לבא זה בזה: 'Prose'gtes and freedmen, bastards and *Nethinim*, those whose father was unknown, and foundlings, can intermarry.' This would account for the disappearance of the *Nethinim* as a class as soon as their services were no longer required after the destruction of the Temple.

3) Similarly in Jer. *Jeb.* vii. 5 the *Nathin* comes eighth out of the classes who render a woman unworthy of marrying a priest.

4) Cf. *Sota* iv. 1; *Macc.* iii. 1; *Hor.* iii. 8.

5) In Tos. *Kiddl.* v. 1 (ed. Zuckerman, p. 341), an abstract term נתניות is given indicating the *status* of a *Nathin* and corresponding to נמזורת "bastardy".

6) On the other hand these Gibeonites might be Israelites of Gibeon having no connexion with the old Gibeonites of Canaan. But even so, the Chronicler, if acquainted with the identification of Gibeonites and *Nethinim*, would have used some qualifying word to distinguish the old from the new Gibeonites.

7) Remnants of the tower which lieth out near which they dwell have been recently discovered by Sir Chas. Warren. *Palestine Exploration Fund—Jerusalem* p. 229.

8 *Varie Lectiones* in *Ezra* ii (1) ציהא (4) קרם (5) סיעהא (8) הנכה (9) ישמלי (9) פרודה (35) הספרת (34) סטי (33) בצלות (25) נפיסים קרי נפיסום (21) עמלי קרי (21) אמי (37) omitted (42) אמי. Between (8) and (9) ב' עקוב and ב' חנב are inserted, and between (19) and (29) אסנה ב'.














9) Among the 111 Jews whose names were mentioned as having put away their strange wives (*Ezr.* x. 18--43) only 2 end in ס: איווא (v. 27) and עדנא (v. 30.)

10) Or *moon*, equally suitable for a woman in Semitic. The exceptional use of the Hebrew ending הָה instead of ס well established by MSS. and early editions, may be due to the fact that the original was an Israelite or perhaps Phœnician woman, cf. Schröder *Phœniz. Sprache* p. 172, n.

11) The list of the first batch is immediately followed by those who could not trace their father's house, three clans of 642 souls bearing the names *Beni Debiiah, Tobiiah, Nikoda*, also seemingly names of women (*Ezr.* ii. 60; *Neh.* vii. 62.)

REVIEW.

GUJASTAK ABALISH: Relation d'une Conférence théologique présidée par le Calife Mámoun. Texte pehlevi avec traduction, commentaire et lexique. Par A. Barthelemy. Paris. Vieweg. 1887.

THE advice which M. Darmesteter recently gave the Parsis of Bombay, to do all in their power to multiply editions of hitherto unedited Pehlevi texts, was in every way excellent. A pupil of M. Darmesteter, M. A. Barthelemy, is giving a practical example of the utility of such editions by publishing for the first time a short Pehlevi text, with the original Pâzend and Parsi transcription, and variants from a Persian version, derived from MSS. of Paris and Munich, of an interesting little theological controversy between a sceptic Abâlâg or Abâlîsh "the accursed" and the Mobed Atar Frôbag, during the reign of the Caliph Mámûn (A.D. 813--833). M. Barthelemy has done his work thoroughly well; we have the three native transcriptions in corresponding lines, with his own transcription in Latin characters at the foot; a reliable translation, a scholarly apparatus of notes, and a complete vocabulary. It was only to be expected that a pupil of M. Darmesteter would follow that eminent Eranist in his system of transcription of the obscure Pehlevi script; hence readings which to us at least seem doubtful, such as ravân for  gēti for  obduntan for  &c. words for which we still think it more logical to read rûbâno, etih, vakhdûntano, &c. We also doubt the advisability of the practical adoption of Noldeke's ingenious explanation of the terminal  of Semitic words as the effect of a misreading of an Aramaic â, or perhaps û,—in the Sassanid form —which Darmesteter (*Etudes iraniennes*, pp. 31--2) seems to approve. In accordance with this, at least plausible, view, M. Barthelemy reads the words     &c. all through as danâ, gadnâ or yadnâ, levatâ: &c. Now, this view of the *origin* of the form  may be correct, and in the 'ideographical' system favoured by Darmesteter and others,—which we need not discuss here,—the Pâzend form may have been read whilst the Semitic form met the eye: but surely to be consistent we ought to *transcribe* the Pehlevi characters as they stand (danman, gadman, &c.), otherwise why not transcribe  at once as *tâman* instead of *od li*? And in any case, how does M. Barthelemy reconcile a reading of  as *tamâ*, when the Semitic form itself shews ? It seems to us that the question of *transcription* of the Huzvaresh forms and that of their actual *pronunciation* ought to be kept distinct, so as to avoid confusion.

M. Barthelemy is to be congratulated on a really valuable addition to our scanty stock of editions of Pehlevi works. His preface, for some reason, is dated June, 1884. L. C. C.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE OLD BABYLONIAN CHARACTERS
AND THEIR CHINESE DERIVATES.

- SUMMARY.—I. INTRODUCTORY.—§§ 1.—Premature Suggestions as to a common ancestry, for the two writings.—2. Similar suggestions.—3. They could not have any value, as the conditions of the problem were still unknown.—4. My discovery, contrary to these suggestions, in 1880, of a late derivation of the Chinese writing from that of Babylon through Elam.—5. The present paper.—6. Aid sought for from the Babylonian side.—7. Further aid.—8. The Chinese sources.
- II. THE ALLEGED HIEROGLYPHS OF BABYLON.—§§ 9. Efforts made towards their elucidation.—10. Restoration of the signs to their pictorial position.—11. Hieratic characters, not hieroglyphs, appear on the oldest monuments of 4000 B.C.—12. Doubtful authority of the pictorial fragments from Nineveh.—13. Their pictures are not the prototypes of the characters they explain.—14. Some instances.—15, 16. Further instances.—17. It is an insufficient proof.
- III. COMPARING BABYLONIAN AND CHINESE WRITINGS.—§§ 18. Usefulness of the comparison.—19. For processes of combining phonograms and ideograms.—20. For processes of transformation.—21. In view of their historical connection.—22. Ancestors of the Chinese learned to write about 2500 B.C.—23. Difference of written material.—24. Chronological conditions.—25. Some early Chinese signs unknown in sound or in meaning.—26. Unnatural forms of some signs for plants and trees.—27. Because they were derived from old Babylonian cuneiform characters.—28. Survivals of the cuneiform characters in Chinese.—29. Chinese tradition about the cuneiform writing of Dungi of Chaldea.—30. Small number of early Chinese characters.
- IV. ANCIENT CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS AND THEIR CHINESE DERIVATES.—§§ 36. The old Chinese symbols, though of late derivation, will

prove useful.—32. Danger of decomposing the symbols.—33. Plasticity of the Cuneiform and Chinese characters.—34. Characters to be turned left to top for pictorial decipherment.—35. The Babylonian and Chinese signs for bird, wheat, child.—36. The signs for: boat, presenting, eye, year.—37. The signs for: wood, mountains, female, bull.—38. The signs for: not, fronting, book, icicle.—39. The signs for: make, hand, door, from.—40. The peculiar signs for: head, mouth.—41. Signs not turned, for: heart, to divide.—42. Signs turned both ways, bow, foot.—43. Signs wrongly turned for: top, ear, dog.—44. The compound sign for: presenting to the eye.—45. The compound signs with 'mountain' for: female servant, male servant, wild bull.—46. Information they procure.—47. Other comparisons.

V. CONCLUSIONS. §§ 48. Further researches.—49. Information obtained as to the primitive Babylonian symbols.—50. Results with reference to the later derivation of the early Chinese symbols from the ancient Babylonian Cuneiform characters.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

1. SINCE the time when the pictorial origin of the Chaldaean signs of writing and the Turano-Seythian character of their sounds were shown to be facts by Dr. J. Oppert (1858),¹ a connection has been suggested by several scholars between them and the Chinese ideograms. G. Pauthier² attempted in 1868 to show, between a few characters Chinese and cuneiform, a similarity suggestive of common descent and most probably of Chinese origin. But his insufficient knowledge of the ancient characters of both writings did not permit him to find out the error of his premises. Later on Prof. Léon de Rosny³ in an ingenious letter, pointing out that the peculiarity of the phonetic complements exemplified in the cuneiform inscriptions, is familiar to the Japanese, was distinctly in favour of a common origin in Turanian Asia.

2. In 1879 Mr. W. St. Chad Boseawen,⁴ in an interesting paper on the pre-historic civilisation of Babylonia, compared as an illustration of similarity in hieroglyphism a dozen ideograms of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chinese writings. I have lately learned that a year before Dr. Hyde Clarke had read before the British Association at Dublin a paper⁵ on the pre-historic relations of the Babylonian, Egyptian, and Chinese characters and culture.⁶ In 1842, 1869, and 1870 a connection had been already vainly sought for the Chinese ideograms with the Egyptian hieroglyphs.⁷ François Lenormant has not made himself very busy with these questions of historical connection or of origin. He was satisfied in his various works to illustrate the principles of composition of the cuneiform characters with similar principles in the Egyptian, and especially the Chinese writing. He had, however, at a certain time (1868)

advanced the view that the Chinese writing had a common origin east of the Aral sea with that which, he supposed, was introduced by the Akkadians into Babylon;⁸ but it was a mere suggestion unsupported by any evidence, and on the 20th of June, 1880, he was able to write to me from Bossieu to congratulate me on my discovery⁹ of the derivation of the Chinese writing and civilization from those of Babylon.

3. But the value of all these suggestions and of any others, unknown as yet to me, which may have been made anywhere, was equal to zero, because the real conditions historical and palaeographical of the problem could not be grasped.¹⁰ The Chinese were granted a much greater antiquity than they are entitled to, and the attention of European scholars had not as yet been directed to their genuine primitive characters. Misguided by some of the aforesaid suggestions, I myself wasted several years in the wrong direction; until the facts and historical circumstances, as they gradually became clear to me in my investigations in ancient Chinese history and geography, and a protracted study of their oldest written characters, which no author of any of the theories and suggestions had ever thought of, proved stronger than any *magister-dicit* and prejudiced views.

4. I had to give up, as inadequate, worthless and unwarranted, the suggestions of a connexion of the Babylonian and Chinese characters resulting from a common descent or from a Chinese origin, and I was thus led, contrariwise of any previous suggestion, to my discovery of a comparatively late derivation of the Chinese symbols from the Babylonian characters. The insufficient antiquity (too short by two thousand years or more) which was then attributed to the Babylonian culture, seemed to be a difficulty in the way, as the lapse of time was not sufficient to allow the necessary changes; but this apparent obstacle to a full recognition of my disclosures in 1880,¹¹ was soon removed by the discovery of 3800 B.C. for the date of Sargon.

The following remarks on Babylonian hieroglyphs and cuneiform characters, and Chinese ideographs derived from them, are made up of some notes among many taken successively since the beginning of my palaeographical studies in that direction, gradually amended and improved with the increase of knowledge and sources of information.

6. Being more of a Sinologist than an Assyriologist, and not a decipherer of cuneiform inscriptions, I have tried to make up my deficiency from the best sources available, taking care to check their respective statements to the extent of my power. The *Tableau comparé des Ecritures*

Babylonienne et Assyrienne Archaïques et Modernes, avec classement des signes d'après leur forme archaïque, by A. Amiaud and L. Méchineau, S. J. (Paris, 1887, 8vo.) I have found most valuable, as it presents the various and successive forms of the characters with reference to the sources. For the sounds and meanings, none of which are given in the previous work, I have used: T. G. Pinches' sign-list in his *Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-writing*, Part I. London, 1882; Dr. Paul Haupt's *Schrifttafel, Zeichensammlung* (cuneiform text), *Kurzes Akkadisches Glossar*, and *Anmerkungen zur schrifttafel*, in his *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschriften* (Leipzig, 1881-82); Joachim Ménant, *Le Syllabaire* in his *Manuel de la langue Assyrienne* (Paris, 1880); François Lenormant, *Les Syllabaires Cuneiformes* (Paris, 1877).

7. I have found great convenience in using the handy compilations of Ed. de Chossat, *Répertoire Assyrien* (Lyon, 1879, 4to), which includes an Assyrian dictionary and a "classification des caractères cuneiformes Babyloniens, Ninivites, Archaïques et modernes," and from the same industrious scholar *Répertoire Sumérien-Accadien* (Lyon, 1882, 8vo); the merit of both these works consists chiefly in this, that every statement is referred to its authority. Book and page are carefully quoted from the various works of Fr. Delitzsch, J. Halévy, Fr. Lenormant, J. Ménant, E. Norris, J. Oppert, A. H. Sayce, Eb. Schrader, G. Smith, and the collection of cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia published by the British Museum. I have also received some assistance from slips and MS. notes of my collaborateur and friend, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, about the original shape and sounds of several characters.

8. In what concerns the Chinese writing, the matter was more familiar to me. Some results of my researches in its history and evolution have been published in several of my works. The ancient forms of the characters quoted in the present paper are taken from the collections and paleographical works compiled by native scholars, and which, known in Europe, would certainly receive a large and well-deserved tribute of admiration as worthy of European erudition. The works are numerous, but I shall quote only a few of those which require a special recognition. Foremost is the 六書通 *Luh shu tung* by 閔齊伋 Min Tsi-kih, who devoted a life of eighty-two years to its elaboration; the characters are given in their successive forms from the oldest antiquity, with minute reference to the inscription, or early texts when each is found. It is a most reliable work in ten books published in 1691, exactly similar to that which MM. Amiaud and Méchineau have just compiled about the cuneiform

characters. The Chinese symbols are classed therein according to 76 finals and the four tones. There is a Japanese edition, arranged according to the usual system of the 214 keys. Next to this work the *六書分類頁* *Luh-shu-fun-luy* by Fu-lwan-siang in 1751, in 14 books, similar to that of Min Tsi-kih, but more complete at the expense of accuracy and arranged by the 214 keys. The *篆字彙* *Tchuen tze wei*, published in 1691 by Tung-Wei-fu, is also a palæographical dictionary by keys, but no references are given therein as to the sources of the forms, which however, are accurately given. The *三字石經* *San tze shih king* (1806) where are found the remaining fragments of the Sacred Books as engraved on stone in the oldest forms of characters at the beginning of the Christian era. Several large collections of inscriptions reproduced in fac-simile, such as the *Sung yü fu tchai tchung ting kw'au shih*, by Yü-fu of the Sung dynasty (XIIth cent.); the *Tsih ku tchai tchung ting y'ki kw'an shih* by Yuen-yuen (1804); the *Kin shih tso pien* (1805), the *Kin shih so* (1821), the *Kiu ting sze ts' ing ku kian* (1751); &c. I have also made use of the *Shwoh Wen*, the first dictionary worthy of the name, for the form and meaning of characters by Hü Shen in the first century of our era,¹² and of several other works.¹³

II. THE ALLEGED HIEROGLYPHS OF BABYLONIA.

9. Some efforts have been made by several scholars towards the elucidation of the pictures which are generally supposed to underlie the hieratic characters of Babylonia. Dr. Oppert¹⁴, among the first in the field, gave valuable suggestions, some of which remain true to the present day. The same must be said of Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen in his paper on the primitive civilization of Babylonia¹⁵ in 1879, and other papers. In the same year, the Rev. William Houghton gave his paper *On the hieroglyphic or picture origin of the characters of the Assyrian syllabary*, in which he attempted, rather prematurely,¹⁶ the explanation of about fifty-four characters. I am afraid many of his explanations and suggestions, however ingenious, must now be left aside. They rest too often on wrong premises. Serious advance has been made since that time in the decipherment of ancient characters, and much more of sound material is now at the disposition of the investigator. The decipherment of the inscriptions from Gudea, and especially those from Ur-Ba-n, Uru-kagina, En-anna-du, &c., brought from Tello have largely contributed to this happy result. Linear or hieratic shapes were formerly too easily accepted, either by inference from the archaic Babylonian forms, either from sham archaisms on seals of late date, or from wrong identifications.¹⁷ False, or non-genuine, forms

have suggested false explanations. The greatest danger in the cases of explaining well-ascertained forms is for our own imagination to get the better of our good sense, and overstep the limits of any justifiable inference. The latest scholar who has ventured to explain the figure of some characters (about fifteen) is Mr. G. Bertin in his paper *On the origin and development of the cuneiform syllabary*,¹⁸ but the ingenious Assyriologist has not escaped this danger, as we shall have occasion to show.





10. As to the position in which the archaic characters must be restored in order to permit an inkling of their original picture and its natural position, there are differences of opinion among the decipherers. The late G. Panthier was an echo of the current opinion when he stated that the cuneiform characters were laid down the head to the left.¹⁹ Mr. G. Bertin repeated last year the same statement with emphasis, declaring that there is no exception to the rule.²⁰ But this statement is largely contradicted by facts, as we shall see further on. Mr. T. G. Pinches was satisfied to say that the process was generally needful.²¹ The Rev. William Houghton and Prof. A. H. Sayce have not fettered themselves in their explanations with any absolute rule of the kind, and though many of their suggestions cannot remain, the two scholars were so far right in this respect.²²




11. The pictorial stage of the Babylonian characters is not represented in the oldest monuments hitherto known, some of which date most probably not long after the beginning in those countries, of civilisation which was introduced, according to tradition, from the Persian Gulf. The oldest characters belong to the hieratic stage, and indeed to a stage of hieratic rather remote from the hieroglyphic period. The latest discoveries must have disillusionised the Assyriologists in this respect. For my part I think that the pictorial stage has never existed in Chaldea, and probably nowhere as an independent body of writing, *direct and sole antecedent of the Babylonian characters*. We shall come across many cases which justify my inference.

12. The only objection to this view is that which rests on the fragments of one or two tablets found at Nimroud, so much spoken of, and at least for one fragment, published several times. Some old forms of characters are therein explained so to speak, by pictures of objects and signs, as well as other characters equally old and probably older. But let us examine the value of the document, and much of its importance will vanish. For instance, we see that several objects explain one single



character. Now surely this simple fact excludes the possibility of their pictures being the original form of the character explained. It does not seem to belong to a work of historical etymology. The work seems most likely to have been a sort of guide-book intended in its way to make intelligible the various meanings engrafted upon the characters by the several causes which modify and increase, in course of time, the acceptations attached to ideograms. Or, perhaps the author himself did not know. We are often inclined to concede to the ancient writers more knowledge than they probably possessed, and we need be more careful than we generally are before trusting implicitly the statements of the ancients. A writer in cuneiform is not necessarily more trustworthy than a Persian.



13. Anyhow, the most clear of the pictorial characters on the tablet do not agree with anything we know of the various forms of the characters, hieratic or archaic, and the most strenuous efforts of imagination have been exerted in vain to find an impossible connection between these figures and the ascertained meanings.

14.  of the pictorial tablet²³, should this tablet be trusted, is just turned over in an inscription²⁴ of Gudea  and a cylinder of a *patesi*²⁵; it became  in ancient Babylonian and  in Assyrian. Now the picture and the character do not agree. The latter is apparently composed of the symbols for 'female' with another character, and this symbol does not appear in the hieroglyph, which is simply a figure of two branches of palm tree or the like.

The same remark applies to some other instances of the same tablets. In the same fragment as the previous character, second column appear two signs which are explained each by four pictures. The first is in Assyrian, , *ac.* to go out. to appear.²⁶ The four objects which explain it on the tablet represent, as far as I can make out, the body of a chariot, two wheels, (each of the two with  subscribed), another two wheels with the axle-tree, and a fourth figure which I cannot assimilate. The second character also explained by four objects is the character Assyrian  *gir*, foot.²⁷ The objects, as far as I can make out, are, two wheels, a chariot seen from side, an inflated skin for swimming as represented in the Assyrian sculptures, and a seat, all objects having in common the idea of support as does the foot, and therefore easily reconcilable. But none of the forms of these objects in the two cases bear any

resemblance to the characters they explain, and cannot be looked upon as the graphical antecedent of their oldest form respectively. Let us see other cases still more telling than the previous ones.

15.  *da, ta*, described as *nasu sa nisi*, the summit of man (*i. e.* the extreme of touch) is composed of 'hand and foot,' both described below. There is no hesitation as to these two component parts, as the Assyro-Babylonians themselves used to denominate this compound by the technical name of *aradugunū*, which means *aradu*, form of the character for foot and *gunū*.²⁸ This disposes of the explanation proposed by the most recent writer on the subject, who wanted to see in it, the hand and fore-arm.²⁹ Modern Assyrian ³⁰ Same compound in Chinese, modern 捉, *tchok*, reaching.

16.  *id, it*, Assyrian ³¹; a symbol which has rather taxed the ingenuity of the decipherers, and which is simply a derivate of the preceding. The meanings ascertained are those of 'side, hand, limb, power,' &c. It is explained by the latest writer on the subject as representing the fore-arm and fist (his hypothesis for the preceding symbol) with an ornamental sleeve!³² In the fragment of the well-known pictorial tablet from Ninivy, the archaic Babylonian form, which does not differ from the hieratic, excepting the cuneitic shape of the strokes, is explained by three figures of objects, none of which can be the graphical antecedent of the character here described. This character seems to us to be simply the hand and foot as in the preceding, with the addition of the fourfold shaped symbol of an ear of corn (cf. *infra*) here adduced to suggest four, whence the four limbs; from this primary meaning may be easily inferred those of 'sides' and of 'might'! Now the objects represented on the tablet tell another story: one may be a quiver³³ full of arrows, another may be a different form of the same object³⁴, the third may be a throne.³⁵ *kussu*. The latter is one of the meanings for which the character was employed by the Assyro-Babylonians.³⁶

17. Surely the author of the tablet which dates only of the VIIIth century B.C.³⁷ did not intend to give the pictorial form antecedent of the character, and wanted simply to illustrate its various meanings. The hieroglyphic and pictorial ancestry of the Chaldaean writing, though probable somewhere, cannot be said to be an established fact. This pictorial ancestor writing is apparently more remote in time than the introduction of the writing in Babylonia, which was then apparently at the hieratic stage. It was not introduced from the upper country of Elam (cf. *infra* § 46),

but most likely from the Persian Gulf; and therefore the Babylonian writing would not have ever been hieroglyphic, but was derived from a pictorial system of writing still unknown. In our opinion this older writing was that of the most ancient Kushite sea-coast traders, but this question requires a separate article.

III. GENERAL REMARKS.

18. Much useful information may be derived from a comparison of the cuneiform and Chinese writings; the written characters of China in their oldest forms, as I have already stated and shown elsewhere in a general way, being simply a derivation of the ancient but not of the oldest forms of those of Babylonians.

19. They may be compared, for the sake of illustrating the processes of combining phonetism and meaning in an ideographical writing. This has been done by most Assyriologists.

For instance, there is,

(I) the association of an ideogram as a determinative of a class of things or ideas employed without reference to its own particular sound,³⁸ with another or more ideograms used as phonograms with or without reference to their own particular meaning. The process is known in Egyptian, in Assyro-Babylonian and in Chinese. Only a few at first, the number of mute determinatives grew in proportion of the extension of notions and the necessity of new words to express them. The most frequently employed reached 43 in Egyptian, 70 in Babylonian³⁹ and 180 in Chinese.⁴⁰

There are in both writings many instances of

(II) Association of ideograms without any reference to their respective sounds, and read by the different word which the meaning of their association suggests.

20. There are also other processes common to both writings, indifferent to any historical connection, which, as far as I am ware, have not as yet been pointed out. We meet with, in their respective evolution, not a few instances of:

(III) a substitution of characters by analogy of shape, of sound, or of meaning. And there is:

(IV) the curious new use of old ideograms, with or without reference to their sounds, simply from the analogy of their shape to supply the want of hieroglyphs which they are fancied to represent; this being a system of writing-sparing which did not prevent the making of altogether new symbols and hieroglyphs, of which there are numerous cases in the

two writings. In both writings also, we see that

(V) a change in the natural position of an ideogram, isolate or in composition, implies with it a corresponding change in the meaning. We shall meet instances of all these five processes and several others less important, in the course of our *Remarks*.

21. But a comparison of the written characters of both countries in view of establishing their historical connection is another affair. The subject calls for some preliminary remarks of importance. The ancient characters of Chaldea and China cannot be compared one with the other in an off hand manner and on quite the same footing as there are serious difficulties in the way. The Ku-Wen or 'old symbols' of China have been, in that country of tradition, carefully preserved in some paleographical works and collections of inscriptions which are simply admirable.⁴¹ It is there, and there only, that scholars can find the original written characters of the Chinese⁴² which have nothing to do with the rude and spurious pictures published as such in many European books.⁴³

22. The Bak tribes brought the knowledge of writing into N.W. China in the twenty-third century B. C., but we do not know how long they had been acquainted with it in their former seats, west of the Hindu Kush. Certainly, not from the beginning, and they had no share in the invention. Slight details in the traditions seem to indicate that it was some time before the dismemberment of the Elam confederation which led to their migration to the East.⁴⁴ Chronology is therefore an important condition of comparison between the two writings.

23. There are more conditions to be respected. The earliest Chinese characters were cut incise on bamboo bark tablets and other vegetable material;⁴⁵ they were composed of strokes more or less curved and more or less thick at one end and thin at the other.⁴⁶ Those of Chaldea that are now preserved were cut incise on stone or impressed on clay, and they are composed of straight strokes cuneiform, which conceal much of their former rude outlined pictographs. Reed tablets⁴⁷, papyrus⁴⁸, and perhaps other vegetable materials were also employed in W. Asia to write upon. But no specimen has been preserved, nor any copy or imitation of the style of current writing which their use imply. Of course it could not be the lapide or monumental, but a less rigid, more roundish and cursive style of writing the characters. And these less angular forms of the symbols were more favourable to the preservation of a certain amount of the ideographical or pictorial spirit.

if I may say so, of the characters wheresoever there was any possibility. The similarity of materials employed by the ancestors of the Chinese shows that it is in the latter style that they were taught to write, and the resemblances, so peculiar in their characteristics between the 'old symbols' of China and those of Chaldea bear fully this inference.

24. In fine, due allowance must be made for the respective ages and styles of the two writings compared, and the prototypes of the Chinese *ku-uen* must be sought for in those of Chaldea of which the knowledge was extended into Elam, and not in the straight linear characters which, sometimes derived from the seals, may be and often are unfaithful archaisms; nor must they be sought for in the most ancient characters of the inscriptions which go back to 4000 B.C. They are to be found in the ancient *cuneiform* characters, with the necessary allowance due to the fact that the ancestors of the Chinese were taught to write them in a cursive and roundish hand.

25. We shall have proofs of the fact all along our investigations. But we must not forget an important feature in the history of both writings: it is the relative plasticity of forms of the symbols which led to not a few mistakes and confusion between signs of different origin and signification. Another interesting peculiarity concerns the ideographism of the early Chinese characters: the meanings of not a few are lost, and it is not at all certain that the leaders of the Bak tribes when they learned to write in Western Asia have ever known them. It is not at all improbable; and we might even be more affirmative on this point, that some written characters were taught to them with phonetic values only. Moreover, some of these characters, originally pictorial,⁵⁰ though at a very remote time, had then lost beyond recovery all remnant of their hieroglyphic appearance, and their sense was therefore open easily to alterations and misinterpretation. Accordingly not a few of the early Chinese symbols, even when their ideographical value being known can still be fancied in their shape, are altogether different from what they would be, should their hieroglyphical ancestry have been regular and in China, which it was not. Everything shews that the primitive writing in China was an old and decayed one, and if I may be permitted to say so, a second-hand one.

26. Let us, for instance, look at the Chinese 'old symbols' of plants and vegetables interesting under several respects, and we may remark from the peculiar forms of many of them that they are not the direct representatives of former and faithful pictographs. They are unnatural. Their branches or leaves, as the case may be, are not turned upwards as truth to nature would generally require, and as we can still recognise that such was the case in the

most archaic symbols of Chaldaea. In the Chinese characters they are commonly turned, either all downwards, or some upwards and the others downwards. The similarity and identity of the Chinese with the Chaldaean ones is however glaring to the eyes of the palæographer, but there is a gap between the two. The Chinese are more deteriorated than the Chaldaean, and their deterioration is not a regular one, but looks like a second stage of corruption. Its characteristics suggest a derivation from a peculiar and simpler style of writing than the archaic cuneiform.

27. Now the foregoing general remarks explain away the difficulty. The peculiar deterioration which underlies the subsequent alteration which was caused by the cursive and roundish characteristic of the writing is that which happened when the cuneitic shape of the strokes composing the Chaldaean characters assumed a more pronounced form, and led these characters to a corruption of their older pictorial aspect. Looked under that light the unnatural appearance exemplified in the Chinese derivatives loses its eccentricity, and can be easily explained. The ideographs in cuneiform strokes, deteriorated as they forcibly were through the stiffness of these strokes and from the wear and tear of ages, when written in a cursive style were necessarily different from what they were otherwise or formerly, and the imitation of the cuneiform shape led to the peculiar disposition of the strokes which ought to have pictured the branches or leaves of the plants or trees.

28. On the other hand, this explains also *the many traces of the cuneiform apex* which like survivals are met with *in a not inconsiderable number of the Chinese oldest characters*. No doubt can be entertained that the leaders of the Bak tribes the ancestors of the Chinese, when settled on the northern borders of Elam, south of the Caspian Sea, were made acquainted with the cuneiform writing. Something of this knowledge has been handed down in their legends concerning the beginning of writing. These legends are of two sorts: there are those which refer to the invention of writing, and which from their own avowal concern a time long anterior to their own existence, but all of them refer to the same peculiarity of the written characters.

29. Shen-nung, the King Husbandman of Let-sam (Larsam), whose Chinese legend is a repetition of that of Sargon, with whom the comparison of the Chinese version of the Babylonian canon shows that he must be identified,²⁷ is reputed to have used signs in the shape of tongues of fire to record facts.²⁸ The story was told with indifferent details in 525 by Tchao-tze, Prince of the State of Luh, who was well acquainted with

the traditions of former times, and duly recorded in the *Tso-tcheuen* of Tso Kiu-Ming, a younger disciple of Confucius.⁵³ At the time of Shen-nung-Sargon, the ancestors of the Chinese were not acquainted with the art of writing, and made use only of knotted words, otherwise quippos.

It was long afterwards, in the time of Nakhunte, *simul* Nai Hwang-ti, that Dunkit=the Chaldean Dungi, taught the ancestors of the Chinese to write. Observing the marks on the soles of claws of birds and animals, he ascertained that by lines objects could be distinguished one from another.⁵⁵

This remarkable tradition so much to the point appears in several works older than the Christian era, as an echo of primitive times. I take it from a later work, that of Hsi-shen, who in the first century of our era, made a critical study of the history of writing in his country, and mentioned it in his own introduction to his valuable dictionary the *Showoh-wen*.

A description of the primitive writing, preserved in the works of Ts'ai Yung,⁵⁶ a paleographer of the second century A.D.⁵⁷ says that "it was like drops of rain finely drawn out and freezing as they fall." This writing was said to have been seen on the back of a tortoise, a probable allusion to the somewhat curved form of the clay tablets.

All this evidence establishes most clearly that the ancestors of the Chinese were made acquainted with the cuneiform writing some 2500 B.C. in a region at proximity of Elam and Chaldæa. *Nakhunte* was the traditional name of the kings of Elam, and there are in the early Chinese institutions not a few similarities with those of that country.

30. We must dispel at once any objection which might forcibly be made by scholars unfamiliar with the history and evolution of the Chinese writing based upon the enormous number of Chinese characters of the Middle Kingdom. This number is the result of a steady growth from about 10,000 existing at the time of the Han dynasty, otherwise *circa* the Christian era. And those ten thousand, exactly 9353, was the outcome of centuries of civilization, of literary work, and increase of knowledge. It was the development of a slender basis consisting only of a few hundred, about 500, characters. Chinese tradition attributes to Dunkit (modern Tsang-hieh)⁵⁸ the Chaldean Dungi, mentioned in the previous paragraph, the creation of 540 characters, including some compounds.⁵⁹ The figure is not much different from that which a survey of the ancient Assyro-Babylonian writing shows to have been used in Chaldæa. Prof. A. H. Sayce's Grammar gives many entries; M. J. Menant 406. MM. Amiaud

and Mechineau in their recent palaeographical work give a great total of 556, out of which 326 only have hitherto been traced back to ancient forms. In Egyptian the number of hieroglyphs was also about 500.

IV. ANCIENT CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS AND THEIR CHINESE DERIVATES.

31. Though derived from the third stage of evolution (including the unrepresented pictorial stage) of the Babylonian characters, the Old symbols of China will sometimes prove very useful in suggesting what things or ideas were pictured by their antecedents. The Chinese have preserved the original meaning of a good many, though not of all their primitive characters, when they were taught to them. Generally these meanings and often these sounds agree with what is known of their Babylonian prototypes, sometimes they do not. The discrepancies may have resulted from different causes, such as the adoption of an old symbol for a new ideogram, or a regional variant in the sense and sound of the character. However identical to that of Chaldea may have been the civilization of Elam with which the ancestors of the Chinese were made acquainted, we may be certain that there were some differences, some of which would thus be revealed to us through the traditions carried to and preserved in the Flowery Land.





32. There is also one serious lesson which we learn from Chinese palaeography, and which must be registered here for the sake of Babylonian palaeography. It is the great imprudence of venturing to analyse the characters in view of historical etymology, without having made sure of the oldest form or forms of the symbols, as that plurality of forms, is often explaining or suggesting something of the idea of the character. And also the necessity of escaping from the attractive tendency of decomposing whole and indecomposable symbols into parts, only because there is an apparent analogy of forms between these parts and independent characters.






33. Prudence and diffidence are the more so wanted in dealing with the archaic and old Babylonian ideograms, that notwithstanding the stiffness of the cuneitic strokes, there was a certain amount of plasticity and apparent looseness in writing these characters. Under the style of the scribes they had not the rigidity and absoluteness of forms, which would seem to have been required in so peculiar a system of writing. The scribes, in writing their characters at that remote period, seem more to have kept in mind an ideal shape which they tried to imitate than to have written mechanically as we do our characters. And






this would be at a pace with the well-known existence, at the same time as the cuneiform style on stone and clay, of another style of writing the characters in a more current and roundish way on reed tablets and papyri.⁶⁰





34. The original things or ideas represented or suggested by the hieratic characters are not always impossible to recognize, though pretty often there is no clue between the possible former shape they suggest and their meaning. In a large number of the cases which can be made out for explaining the archaic cuneiforms they must be turned round so that their left side is the top in hieratic when the text was always, as in Chinese, written in columns from top to bottom, and thence from right to left.





35. For instance, the hieratic :



 *hu*, a bird of which it may have been intended to suggest the head, beak, body, and tail on the left, with the ground under it, it became  in ancient Babylonian, and  in Assyrian; early Chinese,  where we recognize the two wedges across of the Babylonian form, and the two strokes downwards. Modern Chinese 鳥 *o*, a blackbird, a crow.⁶¹



 *se*, wheat, or an ear of corn with awns has become  and  in archaic Babylonian, whence the Chinese  modern 來, and  in Assyrian.⁶² The Chinese is derived from the second Babylonian form, the left to the top.






 and  *du*, child, son, *tuw*, little, suggesting the legs, arms, and head of a child, became  in archaic Babylonian, and  in Assyrian. The derivates similar in early Chinese has become  *tih*, mod. *tze*, son.⁶³





36.  *Mak*, *ma*, a boat.⁶⁴ This form, narrowed for the sake of writing in columns, is exactly a figure of the boats, which are represented in the sculptures. It became  in Assyrian, and it had become  in archaic Babylonian from which  the old symbol of the Chinese⁶⁵ was derived,⁶⁶ *Zik* is indicated as another sound for the same character; in Chinese it was *tchuk* or *tsuk*; the sound *ju* or *ru* existed also⁶⁷ but it required the addition of a phonetic; both were used in the archaic texts.⁶⁸





 in Sargon and Gudea's inscriptions  became  in Hammurabi's old Babylonian and  in Assyrian. The readings are *ru*, *sub*, *sup*, and the meanings to present, to give, to hold,⁶⁹ agree with the picture of the two arms, holding or presenting.





 *si* the eye, has become and remained  a form which placed by




the Chinese the right to top has given  *i. e.*  *muk*,⁷¹ Assyro-Babylonian Amaru.





 *mu*⁷² appears on a cylinder of Dungi⁷³ as  and in old Babylonian  in Assyrian . It is also used for the Assyro-Babylonian *šattu* year. The figure is that of a root of tree or plant, and it means 'renown, glory, year.' In Chinese the old symbol derived from it, is  a year, modern 年. As to the sounds the ancient Chinese said *nuh* for 'tree' and *sot* for 'year' with different characters.




37.  in Gudea's texts  *giš. iz.* wood, became in old Babylonian  in early Chinese  split wood: modern 昇.




 in Gudea's texts,  and  in old Babylonian, replaced left to top in early Chinese  modern, 山 mountain. It was employed for country by the ancient Chinese writers as in the cuneiform texts.



 female, in Gudea's texts, , whence the early Chinese  modern 女 woman: Assyrian . Sounds: Akkadian *ruk*, old Chinese *njok*.




 *gut*, bull, in old Babylonian  whence, with the left to top  in early Chinese, modern, 牛 *ngo*, same meaning.




38.  *nu*, not, &c. in old Babylonian a similar form to the hieratic, and also  whence, left to top,  in early Chinese with the same meaning: modern 不, Assyrian .






 *ul, rû, dû*, similar form in old Babylonian, in early Chinese  modern 對 *tui* answering, fronting, Assyrian .





 *kin*, book, in old Babylonian , in early Chinese the abridged form  modern 經 *king*, book, sacred book.






 *man, nis*, in old Babylonian and Assyrian: in early Chinese  *pan*, modern 平 *ping*, 'icicle.' Several meanings in Assyro-Babylonian, some still unknown, some known, do not agree with the sense attributed in Chinese to the character which may have been borrowed for the sound only.






39.  Akkadian *du*, to make, in old Babylonian  in early Chinese  *du*, modern 才 *ts'ui*, power to make.

 *šu*, the hand, in old Babylonian and modern Assyrian  in early Chinese  *šou*, modern 手, same meaning. The form of the Chinese derivate is somewhat remote, but the sounds are similar.






 *ik, gal*, 'to be, pillar, door'; in old Babylonian among several forms more complicate , in early Chinese  and  *go*, modern  *ku*, door.⁸⁴






 *ta*, from, in, old Babylonian , early Chinese  *tu*, modern  *tze*, from.⁸⁵ Chinese lexicographers explain it as the 'nose,' the first part of the child spontaneously formed in the mother's womb, a view, shared by the Egyptians. In China the ancestor of a family is 'the nose,' and the youngest descendant is 'the ear' of the family.

40. , the head, old Babylonian  *sak*, early  Chinese *thi*, modern  *pi*, the nose. The similarity of the derivate is very striking though quite peculiar for a nose; as said about the previous character, the head of a family is the nose of the family. The Chinese have appropriated the symbol to its modern meaning. Assyrian .⁸⁶







 the mouth; the figure represents the head and the neck, like the preceding, with the addition of the beard, in order to call attention to the mouth. In old Babylonian  *ka*, in early Chinese  *gib*, the head, modern  *hie*. Assyrian .⁸⁷







41. The following characters do not require to be turned:

 the heart, in old Babylonian , whence old Chinese , modern  *sin*, Assyrian . Sounds: *sag* Akkadian, *sab* Sumerian, *sam* old Chinese, modern *sin*, Assyrian *libbu*.⁸⁸





 to cut, to divide, in old Babylonian , whence the old Chinese  a knife, modern  *ku*, Assyrian .⁸⁹






42. The following were used in both directions :




 and  on the oldest monuments,  and several other forms in old Babylonian,  in early Chinese, modern  *ku*, Assyrian  a bow; Akkadian *ban*, old Chinese *kung*.⁹⁰

 on the *Stèle des Vautours*,  in Gudea's texts, 'foot,' is one of the characters which, like the preceding, appear to have been turned to the left or to the right, as survivals of a former system of boustrophedon. In old Babylonian , in early Chinese . The sounds were *du* and *gub* in Akkadian, *to* in early Chinese. Assyrian , Chinese .⁹¹





43. The following call for some special remarks :

 *pa, hat*,  in old Babylonian and Assyrian,  in archaic Chinese *kun*, modern  *ku*, meaning lost, supposed to be 'top.'⁹²




 *pi*, the ear,  in old Babylonian,  *nip* in archaic Chinese, modern . Assyrian .⁹³


They were turned upwards, left to top, on the ancient monuments against the exigencies of their natural and pictorial position. Another instance is found in  *lil*, a dog, similar in form in old Babylonian and Assyrian  which cannot be explained, when turned in the same way.⁹⁵ Whereas, if we look upon the horizontal position as its natural one, keeping in mind that the characteristic features of a dog are his head and tail on the body, while the head only does not characterize a dog, we may without great effort of mind compare this skeleton hieratic character to the Chinese old symbol , with the addition of an underline for the ground.

The unprimitiveness of the arrangement of the original characters in columns is shown by many facts of the kind, and it may be remarked that the characters which are placed in a wrong position are those which had lost any appearance of their original pictorial features. The fish (A.M. 129) which remained hieroglyphic was preserved in its original position, while the *lingam* (A.M. 24) was wrongly placed alone or in the compounds. The following characters, numbered according to the palaeographical work of MM. Amiaud and Mechieux : 38, 106, 144, 240, 252, 253, 258, 277, 278, 285, 288, 289, 291, &c. do not require to be turned to be understood, and many of those of this list which appear the left to top on the oldest monuments of Chaldea could not have been so in their primitive and pictorial position.

44.  *pud, pam*, to exorcise, also to announce, to remember: composed of "the eye," and "presenting."—both symbols we have already noticed—and therefore meaning "presenting to the eye." In Assyrian it was ; it had become in old Babylonian , from which  the old symbol of the Chinese *ming*, modern 明 *ming*, seeing clearly, was derived.⁹⁶

45. The three following are peculiarly interesting:

 *gin*, Assyrian *amtu*, servant: the composition of the sign is 'woman of the mountains.' In Assyrian, . In Chinese  *shen*, an ancient appellation of woman, of which the old form has not yet been found, composed of woman and mountain, as in old Babylonian.⁹⁷ The meaning of the latter as well as that of the following symbol is rather eloquent against the unproved theory of an origin of the writing in the mountainous region of Elam, proposed by Prof. A. H. Sayce.

 *uru*, Assyrian *ardu*, servant.⁹⁸ An early compound ideogram of mountain, and an old character for 'man,'⁹⁹ which was mixed very early

with the old form of 𠄎 'male.' In Assyrian 𐎶𐎵 .¹⁰⁰ We only know a modern form of the Chinese 𠄎 similarly composed with the meaning of divine recluse and genii. The Babylonian meaning agrees with the remark made about the preceding character.

𠄎 *am*. Assyrian 𐎶𐎵 *rimu*, wild bull, is a compound ideogram of 'bull,' and 'mountain';¹⁰¹ both characters were mentioned above. The symbol was not borrowed by the ancestors of the Chinese.

46. The fact that the disparaging stamp which the character for mountain infuses into this last compound and the two preceding ones is unknown to them seems to be rather significant. It agrees well with what might have been expected from the fact that they obtained their knowledge of writing from the mountainous Elam where no contemptuous meaning could be attached to the symbol for mountain. On the other hand, it is another case of improbability against the theory of a Highland origin of the Babylonian. While it possesses primitive symbols for 'boat' and for 'wind' represented by an inflated sail¹⁰², there are none for river, nor for 'bear' (it is a compound), all peculiarities shared by its Chinese derivates. The unique symbol for 'mountain' and 'land' reminds us that for seafarers or islanders, land always looks mountainous. Besides, it may be worth noticing that the sign for water 𠄎 *ai* has also the meaning of father,¹⁰³ and this fact, which does not seem to be attributed to any late cause of graphical or phonetic attraction, looks primitivelike. All this confirms the origin of the civilized fathers from (the islands of) the Persian Gulf, as related by tradition.

47. These comparisons of old Babylonian cuneiform characters with those of the early Chinese which have been derived from them could be continued for a much larger number of symbols. We have only utilized here a portion of the many notes compiled by us in view of an extensive comparison when leisure and health permit it. The signs for brother, region, dark, officer, tribe, augure, stone, and bricks, already compared on the plate of my *Early History of Chinese Civilization* in 1880, and rather badly illustrated and described there, stand good but require a revise on a subsequent occasion. The signs of the points of space are illustrated and compared¹⁰⁴ in my paper on *The shifted cardinal points; from Elam to early China*.

V. CONCLUSIONS.

48. Everything must come to an end, even this paper, however interesting it may be for us to continue these comparisons, inasmuch as the printing of so many new types is a difficult matter. We hope to be able to continue them some day, not only with the object of bringing forward

new evidence in favour of its conclusions, but also and more especially in order to illustrate the processes of phonetic composition proper to the Babylonian symbols, and those employed in imitation by the ancient Chinese. With the help which the early Chinese symbols are entitled to offer, we may hope also to learn more about the primitive Babylonian symbols. Years ago, from the sole internal comparison of these early Chinese characters, we were enabled to draw several inferences as to the characteristics of the writing from which they were derived,¹⁰⁵ Several of these inferences prove to refer even to a period older than that of the Chinese derivation, and known only from survivals. We shall try to establish them finally in a later paper.

49. The instances met with in the previous pages have given us already a certain amount of information concerning the primitive characters of Babylonia.

We have seen that the oldest signs lately deciphered do not, in appearance, come much nearer to the pictorial period than did the archaic cuneiform characters stripped of their cuneitic features. In many cases, as shown by the various interpretations they received, any possible relation to a figurative shape, should it have ever existed, seems to have been irretrievably lost in the most remote times.

The fragments of tablet or tablets found at Nineveh, where figures are given as explanations of characters, cannot be looked upon otherwise than as parts of a sort of guide-book to illustrate the meanings of some characters, without any archaeological purposes, nor any reference to their historical etymology. So that it is not at all unlikely, considering the remote date of the oldest signs known (4000 B.C.) that the pictorial period had not taken place in Chaldea, and that the writing has been brought therein, at the hieratic stage.

A serious change in the writing took place and senses of characters appear to have been lost between the times of Uru-Sagina and En-anna-du and that of Dungi.

Some characters in the remotest time were used to left or to right, and therefore shew survivals of a former system of boustrophedon as in Egyptian. When a stringent system of writing the characters in regular columns from top to bottom became usual, the symbols were not all turned in the same way; some of them kept their pictorial position, whereas some others for certain reasons which escape us were placed in a wrong position. The size and shape of the symbols have had probably some influence in the matter, as well as the loss of their pictorial value, unless it be a survival of a former period.

As to the native country of the writing, it was not a mountainous region; the writing had been brought from the Persian Gulf, as Berossus the historian of Chaldea relates it.

These inferences have been obtained with the great help which the Chinese derivatives of the Babylonian characters afford on their position-value and meaning.

50. We shall now resume the conclusions of the present paper as to its purpose, namely, the derivation of the Chinese writing from Western Asia:

We have had occasion to see that the oldest symbols of China are not primitive; the writing was already old and decayed when the ancestors of the Chinese were taught to write at the time of Dungi of Chaldæa (about 2500 B.C.) in the country north of Elam. These ancestors, the leaders of the Bak tribes, learnt to write from a people inhabiting a mountainous country, or in such a country.

The number of characters of this writing was about 500 (as in Babylonia). Many of these had lost all possible relation to a pictorial origin.

They were taught to engrave on bark of trees, with strokes thick at one end and thin at the other, in a rounded and cursive form, *the old cuneiform characters of Babylonia*. The Chinese symbols correspond sometimes to the hieratic characters, probably through some form of euneiforms unknown in the inscriptions hitherto deciphered and preserved in the ancient writing, but the derivation is most often shown to have taken place from the cuneiform shapes. The comparison of the two writings show that the Babylonian characters, notwithstanding their cuneiform strokes and like the Chinese signs, display some plasticity and elasticity in the hands of the scribes.

The Chinese have preserved some legends of their beginnings, which show most clearly that their ancestors in W. Asia became acquainted with the cuneiform writing.

The Chinese have often preserved the original sounds attached to the characters at the time when they were taught to engrave them.

The important conclusions of this paper are intended to demonstrate the items 1, 2, 3, and 4 of my list of sixty points of civilization carried from W. Asia to early China in the XXIIIrd century B.C., which list I have given in my book on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 192 (London, Nutt, 1887), and in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of last June.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

NOTES.

- 1) *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. II. Paris, 1858, fol. p. 63 sq.
- 2) *Deuxième Mémoire sur l'Antiquité de l'histoire et de la civilisation Chinoises*, in *Journal Asiatique* Avril-Mai, 1868. Cf. pp. 355, 362.
- 3) *Lettre à Mr. Oppert sur quelques particularités des inscriptions Cuneiformes anariennes*, pp. 269—276 of *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, vol. IX.
- 4) *The Pre-historic civilization of Babylonia*, pp. 21—36 of *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1879, vol. VIII.
- 5) Rather unsound in statements and wildly fanciful.
- 6) I was unaware of this fact until my attention was called to pp. 646 and 653 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1888, where it is referred to by Mr. G. Bertin who, among other inexact statements, accuses me of having taken the ingenious theory of Dr. Hyde Clarke, "which, supported by only a few philologic considerations, was not, however, scientifically demonstrated" (*ibid.* p. 645), a theory partly put forward before by François Lenormant in 1868. Is it necessary for me to state that this statement of Mr. G. B. about me is baseless, not to say more? See the text above.
- 7) A comparison of the Chinese ideograms with the Egyptian hieroglyphs had been made several times, with suggestions of common origin. For instance: G. Pauthier, *Sinico-Egyptiaca, Essai sur l'Origine et la Formation similiaire des Ecritures figuratives Chinoise et Egyptienne* (Paris, 1842, 8vo.); C. W. Goodwin, *Chinese and Egyptian hieroglyphics*, in *Notes and Queries of China and Japan*, Nov., 1869, and March, 1870; Johs. von Gumpach, same title, *ibid.* May, 1870.
- 8) *Manuel d'histoire ancienne*, 1868, vol. I., p. 401, and 1869, vol. II., p. 9. He does not refer to it in his valuable *Introduction à un Mémoire sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien*, nor in his *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, 1881, vol. I., pp. 417—430, where he compares the process of composition in both writings.
- 9) "Déouvertes d'une importance de premier ordre." Such were his words.
- 10) It may be said however that no discovery can be made now-a-days, which has not been suggested at least once somewhere by somebody, with more or less reason and chance: such suggestions being generally made on wrong premises, ill-ascertained facts and worthless coincidences which have no place in the principles of the scientific discovery when this happens to be made.
- 11) First made known by an article of Prof. R. K. Douglas, *The Progress of Chinese linguistic discovery* in *The Times*, 26 April, 1880. And T. de L.: *Early history of Chinese civilization*, London 1880, pp. 22—23 and 27—28. Reprinted with some alterations from the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, July 1880, vol. XXVIII, pp. 723—734, and the addition of a plate of early Chinese and Babylonian characters which requires very little alteration to be at the level of the latest decipherment. Cf. some complementary views in *The affinity of the ten stems of the Chinese cycle with the Akkadian numerals* (The Academy, 1st Sept. 1883), and also in *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, 1882

sec. 110 and 115 n. 1 : *On the history of the Archaic Chinese writing and texts*, (1882).

12) The Rev. Dr. J. Chalmers of China has published an able translation of a late edition of Hsi Shen's work : *An account of the structure of Chinese characters*, under 300 primary forms, after the *Shuoh-wan*, 1833 (London 1882), where the chemical process of disintegrating the characters is carried beyond reasonable limits.

13) I may also quote: the *Luh shu Ku* by Tai Tung of the XIIIth century, and the *Introduction to the Study of Chinese characters*, by the Rev. Dr. J. Edkins, of Peking (London, 1876) both works, only with great caution. My own *Dictionary of the Ku-wen*, compiled from many inscriptions and texts, in MS., has proved very useful.

14) *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, 1858, vol. II.

15) *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1879, vol. VIII., pp. 21-36.

16) *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1879, vol. VI., pp. 454-483.

17) This is one of the objections which have been made to many hieratic forms in Chossat's *Répertoire Assyrien*, Menant's *Manuel de la langue Assyrienne*, &c.

18) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1887, vol. XIX., pp. 625-654.

19) *Journal Asiatique*, 1868, vol. XI., p. 361.

20) *J. R. A. S.*, o. c., p. 630.

21) *Archaic forms of Babylonian characters*, p. 150 of *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, 1885, vol. II.

22) *Transactions S. B. A.*, l. c.

23) See the tablet in Houghton's paper.

24) Amiaud and Méchineau, 169, Pinches 236, Haupt 220, Ménant 45, Chossat 269. In the future notes I shall use only the initials instead of the names in full.

25) In the Louvre, figured No. 76 in J. Ménant's *Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale*, 1883, vol. I., p. 133.

26) M. 417.—H. 71., C. 194, A. M. 209.—The Rev. W. Houghton, *O. C.*, pp. 471, has mistaken the signs, and indulged in a series of speculations which are worthless, on this sign and the following.

27) A. M. 203. P. 192, M. 230, C. 362.

28) Cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Les Syllabaires Cuneiformes* (Paris, 1879, p. 61.

29) G. Bertin, *J. R. A. S.*, o. c., p. 643.

30) A. M. 137, P. 131, H. 437, M. 442.

31) A. M. 138, P. 132, H. 135, M. 447, C. 1136.

32) G. Bertin, l. c., p. 633.

33) An earthenware coffin, according to Dr. J. Oppert ; a comb, according to the Rev. W. Houghton, a quiver according to Mr. G. Bertin.

34) A crockery pot, a jug, according to Dr. Oppert, followed by Mr. G. Bertin ; a comb according to the Rev. W. Houghton.

35) A throne, according to the Rev. W. Houghton followed by Mr. G. Bertin.

36) J. Menant, *Manuel*, p. 147.

37) J. Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*. II. p. 66.

38) It is most likely that the determinatives were at the beginning pronounced in speaking and casually dropped, only when the context made the sense clear without it. The habit grew and became regular.

39) When in Assyria the syllabary of 96 characters entered into use, the number of determinative ideograms preserved was only a dozen.

40) The number of Chinese determinatives is generally said to be 214, but this is only the number of distinct characters according to which the native dictionaries are now arranged since Mei-tan, the Lexicologist, in 1615 A.D.

41) Cf. *suprà*, § 8. A list of such books is to be found in A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, pp. 12, 114, sq. : a few are mentioned by G. Panthier *Journal Asiatique*, Avril Mai, 1868, pp. 363-365.

42) On the *Ku-wen* cf. my remarks in *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 23 and notes. So little was known of these *Ku-wen* or 'old symbols,' before I began my researches, that an elder Sinologist who has made his name widely known by his long-continued study of ancient Chinese, declared that I was the first among the Sinologists to have shown the importance of these oldest written characters of the Chinese and the necessity of their study. The Chinese writing was the object of an important reform in 820 B.C., and the *Ku-wen* ceased to be employed except by tradition in special cases. The last of the transformations or reforms occurred in 375 A.D., from which time date the present characters.

43) These rude and not primitive characters which look, what many of them really are, i. e. signs written by uncultured people and makers' marks were published in the *Lettre de Peking sur l'origine et la formation de l'écriture chinoise*, by P. Cibot (Bruxelles, 1773), but the plates had appeared previously in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xlix, pl. 20-46. Their number is 118. Julius Klaproth published 74 of them in his *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. II., 1828, pp. 101-131. It is from these works that the specimens of supposed primitive Chinese characters have been quoted *ad nauseam* in European books. No hieroglyphic inscription has ever been found in China, the country of tradition and worship of antiquity, and none could have been found, as we know now that the writing introduced by the Bak tribes was an old and decayed one which had passed through the (purely hieroglyphic ? and) hieratic periods. The Chinese have never lost sight of the ideographism of many of their characters, and have always striven at preserving it, and even increasing it. Nowhere, else than in China, could be seen the phenomenon, unique in the general history of writing, of a renovation of hieroglyphism which occurred in 820 B.C. A powerful ruler, Siuen Wang, of the Tchou dynasty, aided by a skilful minister, had the writing reformed and many characters remodelled in a pictorial direction, in order that the writing should be understood throughout his dominion, notwithstanding the regional dialects. I have compiled a vocabulary of some six hundred of such altered signs, still in MS., and I have already called attention to remarkable fact. (*Early history of Chinese civilization*, pp. 15-17; *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 24). In spite of these causes of preservation of hieroglyphism, and the natural additions to an ideographic body of writing, it is highly significative of the non-indigeneousness of the Chinese writing that 74 symbols only, including 30 spurious forms and maker's marks, should have been found as having a pictorial appearance,

or better a skeleton appearance of hieroglyphs, against the five hundred primitive characters of the Chinese writing.

44) Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, app. p. 134, mentions *as mine* a theory that the ancestors of the Chinese were once in contact, probably in Elam, with the inventors of the cuneiform writing. But I have never been led to such views by my researches, because I cannot accept Prof. Sayce's unproved theory that the cuneiform writing was invented in Elam, and because the ancestors of the Chinese are much later than this invention. This misconception of my discovery explains how the talented professor of Oxford "found it difficult to believe that the Bak tribes could have carried, not only the forms of the Sumerian ideographs, but also their pronunciation with so little alteration, across nearly the whole length of barbarous Asia." Now this is somewhat exaggerated. The Bak tribes have certainly preserved many sounds and forms of characters, but not all of them, and they had carried away with them written texts and lists of characters, as I have shown reasons to believe, in *The oldest book of the Chinese*, sec. 114 and 115. As to the length of the way, Prof. Sayce attaches too much significance to its importance. The journey did not last so long. There are several similar instances, such as the Kalmucks eastwards, the Yneh-twestwards, &c. On the latter cf. my article on *The Yuh-ti*, &c. in *The Academy*, Dec. 31, 1887.

45) Representations of the graving knife employed are given in the *Hwa-pu wen-tze K'ao*, 1833, Bk. IV, f. 22.—On this question cf. also L. C. Hopkins, *The six scripts* (Amoy, 1881), pp. 6, 7.

46) Whence their name of *K'oh tou* or tadpole characters, given to them in the second century A.D. Cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 747, f. 2; and the *Babylonian-maul Oriental Record*, vol. I, p. 135. Cf. also, *ibid.* p. 188.

47) The name of *Dungi*, an old king of Ur, is interpreted by Mr. T. G. Pinches as 'the man of the reed tablet;' in ancient Chinese legends his name is written *Dum-kit*, i. e. 'the carver of wood,' and it is to him that is attributed the invention of writing like bird's claws, and afterwards like tongues of fire. Cf. my *Early History of the Chinese civilization*, pp. 27-28.

48) On the *Gis-ti-khu ši* and *Gis-zu* cf. A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 9, n. 2; *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, II, p. 208, and previously in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, vol. I, p. 343 sq. Mr. T. G. Pinches has shown, *Tr. S. B. A.* vol. VI, p. 210, that use was made of papyrus, &c., at all periods.

49) These reservations apply only to the linear characters derived from seals of unknown date. 50) Cf. our reserves on this point § 11.

51) Cf. T. de L., *The Chinese mythical Kings and the Babylonian canon* in *The Academy*, Oct. 6, 1883.

52) Cf. G. Panthier, *Journal Asiatique*, Avril Mai, 1868, p. 383.—The text extremely concise says: *y hwoki*, i. e. used fire to record facts.

53) Tso tchuen, Tchao Kung, year XVII, § 3.

54) Hü Shen, *Shwoh wen*, introd. 55) Hü Shen *Shwoh wen*, introd.

56) *Siao Tchen ts'an*.— Prof. R. K. Douglas, MS. note.

57) A. D. 133—192. Cf. Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, 755.

58) Said to be a contemporary of Nakhunte or Nai Hwang-ti. Cf. the own introduction of Hü Shen to his vocabulary the *Shwoh wen* (A. D. 100).


59) In the *Luh shu ku* by Tai Tung, of the XIIIth century, an elaborate work on the historical etymology of the characters, 479 graphic bases only are recognized. Cf. L. C. Hopkins, *The six scripts*, p. 1.—Abel Remusat

in his *Recherches sur l'origine et la formation de l'écriture chinoise*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1827, vol. VIII, suggested that the number of the primitive Chinese characters was only about 200, but he had no sufficient sources of information at his disposal.

60) I wish those of my readers who are desirous to examine my comparisons would closely draw themselves in a cursive and roundish form Babylonian cuneiform characters quoted, as then they cannot fail to grasp the Chinese symbols derived from them.

61) Amiaud and Meclineau 23, Pinches 30, Haupt 39, Chossat 2 3, Ménant 212.--Min Tsi kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, s. v. The slanting stroke in the hieratic Babylonian symbol is longer downwards than in the text above. The modern Chinese is 鳥 and not 鳥 as misprinted.

62) A.-M. 176, Pinches 175, Ménant 174. It is found in Nos. 55, 84, 196, and 251 of A.M. Min Tsi-kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, Bk. II, f. 4.

63) Amiaud-Meclineau 175, Pinches 133, Haupt 78, Ménant 414, and p. 90. This explanation of *du, tur* results from my comparison with the Chinese derivative on the plate of Akkadian and Chinese characters in my *Early history of Chinese civilization* (London, 1880). I repeat it here with fuller confidence, despite Mr. G. Bertin's and Mr. T. G. Pinches' explanation of the symbol as representing the breasts with flowing milk. (Cf. Bertin. *l. c.* p. 643). Such a figure might suggest mother, food, or the like, but it cannot suggest a child. The early Chinese shape for 'son' has been dropped in the text, so that the last sentence must be restituted as follows: The derivative similar in early Chinese  *tih* has become 子 *tze* 'son' and also 兒 'child.'

64) Amiaud and Meclineau 39, Ménant 361, Chossat 263.

65) Min Tsi-kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, Bk. IV, ff. 45, 46.--Fu lwan-tsiang, *Luh shu jên luy*, s. v.--Tung Wei-fu, *T'chun tze-wei*, s. v.

66) Without any further change of position.

67) Cf. Chinese *ju*, Mandshu *weikku*, Mongolian *omo*, Kiranti *Bakhan*, *Bakhopu*, *Pokham*, Kusundu *wan*, &c.

68) Cf. Ménant 361, Chossat 263, Min Tsi-kih, *l. c.*

69) A.-M. 186, Pinches 166, Haupt 29, Ménant 59, Chossat 472.

70) Amiaud and Meclineau, 240, Pinches 159, Ménant 97, Haupt 191.

71) The hieroglyph being still clear to the scribes, there are many variants. Cf. Min tsi kih, *o. c.*, Fu lwan tsiang, *o. c.*

72) A.-M. 12, Pinches 24, Ménant 206, Haupt 24, Chossat, s. v.

73) Figured in J. Ménant, *Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, 1, p. 141.

74) As the Nos. 74 to 83 of the notes are wanting in the text, we add at the beginning of each note the word of the character it refers. *Gis*, A. M. 60, P. 104, H. 114, M. 331. *Esu*, wood; in Chinese *shu* and *mul* are the words for tr e.

75) 'Mountain,' A. M. 254, P. 198, M. 171, M. T. K. s. v.

76) 'Female,' A. M. 163, P. 231, H. 219, M. 41, C. 157, M. T. K. s. v.

77) Bull,' A. M. 47, M. 433, C. 266, M. T. K. s. v.

78) 'Not,' A. M. 22, P. 12, M. 240, C. 14, H. 36, M. T. K. s. v.

79) 'Answering,' A.M. 229, H. 187, M. 143, C. 544, M.T.-k. VII, 44.

80) 'Book,' A. M. 294, P. 229, M. 64, M. T. K. s. v.

81) 'Icicle,' A. M. 238, P. 168, M. 94, M. T. K. s. v.

82) 'To make,' A.M. 11, P. 45, M. 312. Min Tsi-kih, II, 5.

83) 'Hand,' A.M. 136, P. 139, M. 477, C. 235, H. 115, M.T. k., VI, 37.

84) A.M. 37, H. 11, M. 213, C. 513. The first of the early Chinese derivatives has been mislaid the top to the left in the printing, and the

hasta of the same derivate ought to be longer upwards and downwards.

85) A. M. 49, P. 81, H. 75, M. 261. Min Tsi-kih, VII. 8.

86) A. M. 221, P. 94, H. 63, M. 356.

87) A. M. 222, P. 68, H. 13. M. G. Bertin, *J. R. A. S.* 1897, XIX, p. 643, misconceived its original position, perhaps because he had not seen the oldest form here quoted from the *Stèle des Vantours*.

88) In the texts of En-Anna-du and Uru kagina.—A. M. 258, P. 190, H. 160, M. 160. M. T. K. *s. v.*

89) A. M. 184, P. 242, H. 7, M. 198. Also T. G. Pinches, MS. note. M. T. K. *s. v.* 90) A. M. 145, P. 125, H. 186. M. 185, C. 563.

91) A. M. 147, P. 61, H. 100, M. 380, C. 100. The sign's name was *arudubu*.

92) Amiaud and Meehineau 51, Pinches 105, Ménant 319. The hieratic appears thus on a cylinder of a *patesi* figured in J. Ménant, *Glyptique Orientale*, I, 64.—On the Chinese besides Min Tsi-kih, *s. v.*, and Fu lwan-tsiang, *s. v.*, cf. J. Chalmers, *The structure of the Chinese characters after the Shwob-wan*, 117.

93) A. M. 152, P. 109, H. 159, M. 156, C. 176. M. T. K. *s. v.*

94) A. M. 276, P. 248, H. 229, M. 61, C. 290. M. T. K. *s. v.*

95) It appears the left to top on the cylinders of the Ur-ba-u, and of Dungi, which are figured in J. Ménant's *Glyptique Orientale*, I, pp. 129, 140.—The attempt at explaining the character as the survival of a lying beast (Rev. W. Houghton *l. c.* Mr. G. Bertin *l. c.*) in various ways seems to be unsuccessful.

96) A. M. 243, Pinches 161, Menant 102. Min Tsi kih, Bk. IV, f. 25.

97) A. M. 165, P. 238, H. 224, M. 41. *K'ang hi tze-tien*, *s. v.*—*Tchuen-tze-wei*, *s. v.* 98) A. M. 8, P. 16.—Cf. M. 372.

99) The character appears in *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, III, pl. 43, col. 2, l. 4.—Mr. G. Bertin, *J. R. A. S.* l. c. p. 643, has misunderstood this character, which he fancies to represent the legs of a man walking.

100) Amiaud and Meehineau, *Tableau*, p. 4.

101) A. M. 48, C. 110, M. 383, H. 90, C. 596.

102) An ingenious explanation, from Mr. G. Bertin, *l. c.* p. 652.—The Chinese character is most certainly derived from the Babylonian form. Cf. A. M. 198, P. 208, M. 185, and Chinese M. T. K. *s. v.*, or *Tchuen tze wei*, 182. Sounds: Akkadian *imí*, early Chinese *bam*, mod. *jung*.

103) M. 14, C. 58. It means also 'son.' H. 230, P. 250.

104) Making already a total of about 50 Babylonian and Chinese symbols identified. In another paper I shall give another fifty Chinese derivatives of the old Babylonian cuneiform characters.

105) *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 111; *J. R. A. S.* 1883, vol. XV, pp. 278-279.

ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.—Page 73, last line: *instead of* §36 *read* §31. 75, l. 27: *instead of* seeme to be a difficulty *read* seemed to be a difficulty. 76, l. 37: *instead of* when *read* where. 78, l. 12: *instead of* G. Panthier *read* G. Pauthier; l. 37: *instead of* well as other characters *read* as well as by other characters. 80, l. 19: *instead of* Nimivy *read* Niveveh; *delete* which. 81, l. 30: *instead of* I am ware *read* I am aware. 83, l. 9: *delete* and. 84, l. 14: *instead of* to a corruption *read* to a greater corruption. 85, last line: *instead of* many entries *read* 522 entries. 90, l. 9: *instead of* only *read* alone. 91, l. 10: *instead of* to them *read* to the Chinese. T. de L.

THE NETHINIM.

(Concluded from p. 71.)

HAVING reached the result that the Nethinim could only trace their genealogy to women, the most probable conclusion as to their origin almost presents itself spontaneously. Men who could not trace their paternity attached to the Temple and yet degraded to the level of bastards—who could the *Nethinim* have been but the children of the *Kedishoth* or sacred prostitutes attached to the Temple before the exile? These were attached to the worship of Astarte and of Ashera, if these two are not identical (Baudissin, *sub voce.* in Herzog-Plitt). Now we know that the worship of Ashtoreth was introduced by Solomon (I. Kings xi. 5), and as the Temple was simply the Chapel Royal while the kingdom lasted, the rites of Ashtoreth were doubtless performed in the Sanctuary. These rites may possibly explain the large number of his harem, and we can only account for the title *בני עברי שלמה* given to some of the *Nethinim* by connecting it with this worship. Manasseh introduced an Ashera into the Temple (II. Kings xxi. 7), which was removed by Josiah (*ibid.* xxiii. 4-6). Even if we did not have this evidence of these lascivious rites in connection with the Temple, we could assume them from the existence of still worse abominations in the *קדשים* or *cinodi sacri*. These are first mentioned in the reign of Rehoboam (I. Kings xiv. 24); they were removed by Asa (*ibid.* xv. 12), but not so completely that they had not to be removed by Jehoshaphat (*ibid.* xxii. 47). And, notwithstanding these abolitions, we read that Josiah “broke down the houses of the *קדשים*, which were by the house of the Lord where the women wove hangings for the Ashera” (II Kings xxiii. 7). This is clear evidence of the existence of these rites in direct connection with the Temple. And where the *קדשים* were, there can be no doubt that the lesser vice also prevailed. In the Deuteronomic legislation which all critics recognise as the outcome of the Jahvistic reaction in Josiah’s reign, the two classes of unfortunates are coupled together in the precept: “There shall be no *קדשה* of the daughters of Israel nor a *קדש* of the sons of Israel” (Deut. xxiii. 17) and as if to mark the ecclesiastical character of these terms the next verse refers to the same classes among the common people

(ib. 18).¹ We have no explicit reference to these rites later than Josiah, but they are in all probability referred to when it is said that Jehoiachim (II. Kings xxiii. 37), Jehoiachim (ib. xxiv. 9), and Zedekiah (ib. 19) 'did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that their fathers had done.' And even as late as Ezekiel we have a vivid and detailed account of the rites connected with the קדשות within the Temple, which can only have been described from events that had happened within the prophet's lifetime (Ez. xxiii. 36-48). With this evidence before us, we can scarcely deny the existence of sacred prostitutes in connection with the Temple of Jerusalem throughout the separate kingdom of Judah and up to the Exile. Now these unfortunate beings, though mostly infertile, would have children who would doubtless be brought up to the same vile life as themselves before the exile (the sons as קדשים, the daughters as קדשות), and after the exile became the *Nethinim*, whose origin we are here investigating. This account of it explains their connexion with the Temple, their degraded position, and the fact that they could only trace their ancestry up to women.

It may be fairly asked why the *Nethinim* should consent to return to occupy such a degraded position, and Herzfeld (l. c. II. ii. 140) urges this point in arguing that the prohibition against intermarriage with them did not exist in Ezra's time. He had not the present suggestion before him, or his objection would indicate complete misconception of the psychology of *pariahs*. No one who has read M. Michel's painful but fascinating book *Les races maudites* can have failed to notice the sullen patience with which the outcasts of humanity submit to their lot: they do not appear to have sufficient imagination to sever themselves entirely from their persecutors. In the case of the *Nethinim* we have an additional and more prosaic reason for their return to Palestine: they had hereditary right to part of the dues paid to the Temple (*Ezr.* viii. 24). Again: to modern notions it seems difficult to understand why the Jews, when once freed for ever from the vices of which the *Nethinim* were a living embodiment should have permitted them to return to take up their old quarters near the Temple. But it was the most natural thing in an ancient and an oriental state that the *status quo ante* should be restored: what would need explanation would be any departure from it. The Jews returned with touching fidelity to the villages they had occupied before the Exile; the *Nethinim* had been attached to the Temple before, they were attached to it as a matter of course after; they were degraded before, they were even more degraded amid the New Israel.

It is right that this investigation should conclude with the chief

objections which may be urged against the identification here proposed, I believe for the first time.² In the first place we have assumed that the names of the ancestors of the *Nethinim* which end in נָּ are those of women. Yet the only names of individual *Nethinim* (except the Iddo of Ezr. viii. 16) are those of the two leaders צָהָה and גִּשְׁפָּה, the former the leader of the *Beni Zihu* at the head of the first batch, the latter, I have suggested, the chief of the *Beni Gispa* at the head of the second.

As regards the argument that there was an Aramaic tendency after the exile for the names of men to end in נָּ, this has been deduced from the very list of names we are considering and would thus be a circular argument. At any rate the tendency is not shown among the long list of names of Jews who put away their strange wives (*Ezr.* x. 18—43). This objection, at any rate, cannot apply to the names ending in יָּ (Nos. 25, xvii) and יָּ (34, 41). These are the names usually relied on to explain the term *Kohelath*: if the present view is correct, this must be abandoned; and we have not only depended on the forms of the words in concluding that these were women: their 'biological' character was, among others, an independent proof of their meaning. Another difficulty is suggested by the difficult word סֻבְּאִים the *Khethib* of Ezek. xxiii 42, which exegetes nowadays take to mean 'drunkards from the wilderness' (cf. Deut. xxi. 20) though this scarcely gives a good sense. Now it is to say the least, a remarkable coincidence that this word, occurring in the midst of a description of the rites connected with the *Kedishoth*, should resemble so closely the בְּנֵי סֻבְּאָה which we have ventured to restore to the second batch of *Nethinim* (No. xv) from the *ῥοιὶ Σουβᾶ* of the Apocryphal Ezra. While this identification confirms in a most unexpected manner our general hypothesis it causes some difficulty as to the origin and meaning of the words ending in נָּ. For here we have a word of this kind referring not to a woman, but to a place or tribe. It is, however, extremely improbable that the remaining 17 words ending in נָּ (excluding nos. I and i.) should refer to places or tribes without our being able to identify them. Altogether I am inclined to think the evidence in favour of the majority of the names in the list of *Nethinim* being those of women is overwhelming. I would, however, remark that, even if this were not so, the hypothesis I have put forward as to the nature of the *Nethinim* would not suffer: as an explanation of their degradation it would be satisfactory even if the names of the *Nethinim* at the time of the Return did not bear traces of the status of their ancestors.

Another more formidable objection still remains to be overcome. If the origin of the *Nethinim* were as we have suggested, why does no hint of it occur in Bible or Talmud? To this it may be replied that no hint was required if the name *Nethinim* carried its own story with it and implied the same to men speaking Hebrew as *ἱεροδουλοι* implied to men speaking Greek. For this we have direct evidence. In the two cardinal passages, *Esr.* ii. and *Neh.* vii, the name is transliterated *Ναθυαῖοι* in the LXX, but elsewhere the word is translated *ἱεροδουλοι* (*Esr.* ii. 58, vii. 24, viii. 20; 3 *Esd.* v. 53—58, viii. 22—51), and the same word is used by Josephus (*Ant.* XI, v. 1) in the only passage where he refers to them. Now there is no ambiguity in the meaning of *ἱεροδουλοι* (v. Smith *Dict. Class. Ant.* s. v. *Hieroduli* Herrmann *Gottesdiens.* *Althert. d. Hellenen*, § 27, n. 13—16: it almost invariably means the ministers of lascivious rites in connexion with the temples of Aphrodite (really Astarte in Greece as in Judæa). The LXX and Josephus would not have used a term of so insulting a meaning if they had no tradition of the origin of the *Nethinim* to depend upon. As regards the use of the name *Nethinim* as corresponding to *hieroduli*, we have an exact analogue in the corresponding class in Indian life, the *Bayadères*, who are technically called *Dera-dasi* (*deodate*). There are also special reasons why the doctors of the Mishna would be chary of entering into details about this somewhat unsavoury subject. As the Temple increased in sanctity, it was decidedly impolitic to remind the people that the holiest spot on earth had been tainted by the most unholy of rites. The Sopherim developed a special sense of delicacy about these and kindred subjects, as we know from the Biblical passages which “were not to be read” in the synagogues. The Chronicler, whom Zunz has shown to be identical with the writer of *Ezra*, completely avoids all mention of the *Kedishim* or *Kedishoth*. Though he is careful to point the moral of his tale by referring the downfall of Judah to the abominations committed by the kings he is reticent about details, and passages like I Kings xiv. 24; II xv. 12; xxii. 47; xxiii. 7 find no parallel in Chronicles. Neither in Mishna nor Gemara, so far as I am aware, do we find any mention by name of any individual *Nethin*, and it is probable that they disappeared as a class after the destruction of the Temple. The memory of their origin then seems to have died away, and the Rabbis of the Talmud found and exercised an opportunity for displaying their ingenuity in combination which has obscured the origin of the *Nethinim* ever since.

We moderns might well imitate this delicacy and reticence but for one consideration. We can best know the religion of Israel by contrasting it

with the cults opposed to it: all those who are nowadays investigating the religions of Syria recognise this truth. Yet here we have in the existence of these *Nethinim* evidence of rites as repulsive as any found elsewhere, existing in the Temple right up to the Exile. Scholars had, of course, known of this previously (though not later than Josiah), but the discovery that the *Nethinim* were the ministers of those rites gives a vividness and concreteness to our ideas on the subject which cannot fail to light up many points on the religious development of Israel. When we read the description of the peasants in La Bruyère we understand the French Revolution; when we think of the *Nethinim* and all that they imply we understand the Jahvistic reaction under Josiah. Imagine a *Nethin* slinking by Isaiah in the courts of the Temple, and we have a vivid picture of the lowest and the highest form of worship which arose in Syria and spread thence throughout the ancient world, the one disintegrating society, the other destined to bring the germs of salvation. Nor are the two forms so disconnected as might appear: healthy human nature has in itself a safeguard against such extremes of viciousness as are implied in the *Nethinim*. The mere force of moral repulsion will explain much of the *sara indignatio* with which Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel inveigh against practices which strike not alone at all spiritual religion but at the very roots of social and family life. And certainly our investigation, if substantiated, enables us to appreciate the force of the terms 'whoredom' and 'abomination' applied by these prophets to the idolatrous practices of their time. They seem mere pieces of bad taste if we take them metaphorically as modern exegesis too complacently assumes (e. g., Gesenius *Thes.* s. v. *זונה* p. 422). Our knowledge of the continued existence of these *Nethinim* shows these expressions to be the natural utterances of earnest and right-thinking men. It is on account of the lurid but instructive light which is thus thrown upon the religious development of Israel that I have thought it desirable to raise for a moment the veil which for nearly two thousand years has rested on the origin of the *Nethinim*.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

NOTES.

1) "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore or the wages of a dog, into the house of the Lord thy God." The meaning of *כלב* here is settled by the use of the same term *כלבים* in the Phœnician inscriptions *Corp. Ins. Sem.*, No. 86. But as *זונה* is a secular *קדשה*, so *כלב* was probably *קדש* apart from the Temple. It was possible that the ordinance of Deut. xxii. 5 was directed against these practices.

2) The latest and, I think I may add, the most absurd suggestion about the *Nethinim* was by Rosenzweig in his *Jahrhundert nach dem Exil*, 1885, who sees in them the forerunners of the Essenes! J. J.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE REAL CHRONOLOGY AND THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE BABYLONIAN DYNASTIES.

For a long time, since the discovery of the Armenian translation of Eusebius of Pamphili's *Chronicon* by Angelo Mai, a single list of Mesopotamian dynasties had been known. A great many scholars worked on the statements that have come down to us under the name of the Berossian list, which certainly rests on sound chronological documents. We have expressed our views in other papers, *ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις*, as old Herodotus says, and we shall not insist in these pages upon the elements which, in the strongest manner, corroborate our opinion on this historical monument, especially referring to the chronology of the Assyrian empire, and to the several royal families who ruled in northern Mesopotamia. Quite distinct from this list is another document, newly discovered by Mr. Pinches¹, and explained with the most critical accuracy² by the eminent and leading scholar of Assyriology in Germany, Prof. Schrader.

This new list is entirely different from the so-called Berossian list, and has no connexion whatever with this so often commented-on document: it refers entirely to the southern kings, and excludes a complete comparison with the sister list; quite so we should not venture to propose a conciliating concordance between the kings of France and the German emperors, connected nevertheless by a small number of prominent rulers. It would prove a great defect of historical sense and a lamentable arithmetical insanity, if we should attempt with an easy and, I dare say, cheap want of earnest science, to change patient figures, and to replace them by other numbers which might suit better for our unjustified premises. Nothing, indeed, is more easy than this sort of pseudo-chronological bills of fare; nothing also is less convincing than an arbitrary boasting with rudimentary arithmetic; it scarcely persuades anybody besides the author of such unscientific achievements.

The tablet of Babylonian kings we allude to cannot pretend to a great scientific value, if the names were not attached to a definite period and a chronologically fixed epoch. The Berosian lists led us to the discovery of the true system of figures in the Genesis, which we have set forth elsewhere, but which has received an actual corroboration by this same royal list.

This discovery of ours consisting in the original identity of the Biblical legendary figures with the Chaldaean mythic period, proves that the mythic period of Assyro-Babylonian chronology closed in 2517 B.C., a lunar period of 1805 years before the new period which began under Sargon 712 B.C.: a similar epoch has been known to the Egyptians, who commenced a new series with the reign of the priest Sathos, the antagonist of Sennacherib (Herodotus II, 142).³ We have shown that the 9 sar, 2 ner, and 8 soss of the Syncellus, or 34,080 years after the 5100 years given to two first postdiluvian kings, give exactly 39,180 years, or 653 soss.⁴ These 653 soss are composed of:

12 sothiac periods of 1460 years	= 17,520 years, 292 soss.
12 lunar periods of 1805 years	= 21,660 years, 361 soss.
Total	= 39,180 years, 653 soss.

In mounting from A.D. 139, the sothiac cycles of 1460 years, and from 712 B.C. upwards the lunar cycles, we arrive at the date of 11542 B.C. reputed common origin of the two legendary cycles.

The Genesis has the same postdiluvian statements, the *soss* or sixty years are only reduced to the unity.

From the Deluge to Abraham's birth	... 292 years.
From Abraham's birth till the death of Joseph	... 361 years.
From the Deluge till the end of Genesis	... 653 years.

I thought it necessary to establish these points in order to fix in a scientific way our starting-point. The epoch to which must be attached the entire list is 2506 B.C., 11 years after the cyclic date of 2517 B.C. This becomes necessary by the conformous statements of the Armenian Euseby and Syncellus, who assign to the mythic king the whole sum of 39,191 or 39,190 (34091 + 5100) years: the historical facts which put an end to the old dynasty did not exactly coincide with the cycles' beginning.

This date is now confirmed in a marvellous way by the statement of king Nabonidus who, in a twice verified text admits between him and his Chaldaean predecessor Sagasaltiyas a lapse of 800 years: we shall see that the combined statements of the Babylonian documents fix give 1157 years from their beginning to the accession of this prince. The date of 1349 B.C. agrees plainly with the assertion of Nabonidus, who reigned from 555 to 538 B.C.

Besides this list of royal names we know another document, which Mr. Pinches first analysed, Dr. Winkler published, and of which I

gave a translation.⁵ The document is a Babylonian chronicle copied under the reign of Darius, commencing with the reign of Nabonassar (747 B.C. down to 665 B.C.). It is essentially inspired by Babylonian patriotism, hostile to the rule of the Ninivite Sargonidæ's family, and, falsifies even true history, in attributing to the two superseded kings, Teglathphalasar and Shalmanassar, the domination in Babylon which the royal list, agreeing with Ptolemy's canon does not admit. On the contrary, by opposition, the royal list is devoted to the royalty of Sargon's family: it affirms, like the Alexandrian canon the reign of Porus (Pulu) and Ululæus (Ululai) who governed actually, instead of the unauthentic reigns of Teglathphalasar and Salmanassar. However, in contradiction to Sennacherib's own texts, the list assigns to this king two reigns of two and of eight years, which Ptolemy denotes as *interregna* (*ἀβασίλευτον*), supported in that case by the anti-Sargonide Chronicles. The latter, in their hatred against the Assyrian dynasty, refuse even to Assarhaddon, who actually ruled in Chaldæa, the title of king of Babylon: moreover, they change into defeats the victories which Sargon and Sennacherib justly pretend to have obtained over the Elamites. With a not harmless pleasure, the Chronicle insists upon all disasters which happened to the reigning family, and certainly its most interesting statement is the confirmation of the Biblical record that Sennacherib perished murdered by his son.

This document affords an highly important contribution to history and an unappreciable corroboration to formerly known statements of less ancient epochs. The original and prominent merit of the *Royal List* is to precisely clearly the remote times of Babylonian history, which until now staggered uncertain between several centuries.

Here is our restoration of the Assyrian Berosian dynasties:

8 so-called Median kings	6 2506—2283
11 Elamite kings	2283—2059
49 Chaldean kings	2059—1601
9 so-called Arabian kings	1601—1356
Semitamis	1356—1314
45 Assyrian kings	1314 — 788
Babylonian dynasty, Teglathphalasar and Salmanasar .	788— 721
Sargonidæ	721— 606

The cuneiform Babylonian list furnished the following dynasties :

1. 11 Babylonian kings	2506—2202
2. 11 Siskû kings	2202—1834
3. 36 (Elamite ?) kings	1834—1257
4. 11 Pasê kings	1257—1185
5. 7 kings, of three dynasties, together,	1185—1137
6. „, kings of different dynasties	1137— 769

7. 5 kings of Babylon	769-- 732
8. .. Sargonides, and others	732-- 625
9. Last Babylonian dynasty	625-- 538

Before explaining the chronology of these dynasties, we are bound to the general remark that a great many ancient kings whose names and even texts are known to us, are to be placed before the commencement of this historical period, and belong to the remote epochs of the so-called mythical times. The two last millennia of this long and legendary period of 653 5000 or 39,180 years, going upwards to the epoch of the Egyptian Pyramids, have left us the names of the monarchs of Sirtella (Tell-sh to-lay) like Urnina, Gudea, Ur-duggina, the old Ur-babi or Orcham, his mighty son Dungi or Bau-kin: we do not here allude to the names of Sargon I. and his son Naram-Sin, the time of whom is, until now, alone known to us. All Assyriologists, indeed, must place these two princes of Agadé in the 39th century B.C., according to an important notice of king Nabonidus. We have not to touch these points in this paper, which only concerns the dynasties posterior to the commencement of the last cycle before Sargon II.

1. The first dynasty of Babylon comprehends 11 kings, during a period of 304 years, from 2506 to 2202.

The eleven kings, succeeding from father to son from Sumuabi to Samsu-Satana, are the following, with their Semitic-Elamite names :

Sumu-abi	15 years	2506-2491
Sumu-lan	35 ..	2491-2452
Zabû, mentioned by Nabonidus	14 ..	2456-2446
Apil-Sin ?	18 ..	2442-2424
Sin-mubanit (Elamite form)	30 ..	2424-2394
Hammurabi	55 ..	2394-2339
Samsi-iluna	35 ..	2339-2304
Ebi-sum	25 ..	2304-2279
Ammi-ditana	25 ..	2279-2254
Ammi-didugga ⁸	21 ..	2254-2233
Samsu-ditana	31 ..	2233-2202

2. Last Sumerian dynasty of Sisku or Ur-ellu, 11 kings, reigning during 368 years : from 2202-1834, B.C.

Anna-an	61 years	2202-2141
Ki-annibi	55 ..	2141-2086
Damqi-ninisu	36 ..	2086-2050
Is-ki-pal	15 ..	2050-2035
Sussi-ab (?)	27 ..	2035-2008
Gul-ki-dug	55 ..	2008-1953
Kir-gal-alammas, his son,	50 ..	1953-1903
Ai-alam-kalamma his son,	28 ..	1903-1875
Ekur-ul-anna	26 ..	1875-1849
Melamma-kurkurra	6 ..	1849-1843
Ea-ga	9 ..	1843-1834

While several kings of the first dynasty are so well known to us by their proper texts, or mentioned by later monarchs, as Zabu, Hammurabi, Samsi-iluna, no trace whatever is to be found of the existence of the rulers of the line of Ur-ella.

3. The third dynasty had not been handed down to us in its formerly unhurt state: a large gap of 343 years cuts into three parts, the 576 years and 9 months⁹ which the document originally attributed to it, and within this lacuna must be placed the names of many of the best known kings, as Nazi-bugas, Parna-pur-yas (offspring of the master of lands), Kuri-galzu, Simti-silhak, Kudur-mabug, the conqueror of the West, Ardu-sin or Eri-vaku, homonym to the Arioch of the Bible, Kara-indas, Kara-lardas, Naz-ruddas, and other rulers of Elamite origin and name. But as it runs now, the list is extremely valuable by the presence of Sagasaltiyas, living 800 years before Nabonidus, and by several kings mentioned in the synchronous tablet of Chaldea and Assyria. We even believe to discover the name of Semiramis, the Ninivite queen, in the mutilated name of *Isamme . . . ti*, where we should propose to read *Ša-am-mea-(ramit sarra)ti*.¹⁰ The vertical wedge instead of the female ideogram, might be objected to our opinion, but the indication does not mark, I fancy, the proper name, but the new reign, and may be looked at as the perpendicular line in all similar catalogues, even in the lines of mere alphabetic or syllabic characters; equally in the astronomical and teratological documents, every new portentum is introduced in the same way. Moreover, the epoch agrees perfectly with the Berosian reign of Semiramis.

The names of this dynasty, Elamite and Babylonian, and which reigned 950ss 36 years and 9 months, that is 576 years 9 months, from 1834-1257 are as follow:

Kan-dis	-	-	-	16 years,	1834---1818
Agum-si, his son	-	-	-	22 ,,	1818---1796
Agu-yasi	-	-	-	22 ,,	1796---1774
Ussi, his son	-	-	-	8 ,,	1774---1766
Adu-metas	-	-	-	... ,,	
Tazzi-umas	-	-	-	... ,,	

Here follows the unlucky gap of 343 years and 9 months, until 1422 B.C., where we must place all the Elamite or Cissian (Kassite) princes,¹¹ whose names we mentioned before. We are thus aware that the identity of Kudur-mabug with Kedorlaomer, the Elamite Kudur-Lagumar, is a mere fancy. The age of Abraham cannot possibly be lowered to that period. The Arioch of the texts, Eri-vaku, is likewise not the same person as the king of Ellasar talked of in Genesis.

After this gap of 343 years and 9 months we meet with three reigns, the duration of which is preserved, but the names of the kings themselves are gone.

. . .	22 years	1422-1400
. . .	26 "	1400-1374
. . .	17 "	1374-1357
Kudur-Bel	2 "	1357-1355
Semiramis (ruling in Assyria from 1356 to 1314)		1355-1349
Sagasaltiyas, 800 years before Nabonidus.	13 years	1349-1336
Kas-bat	8 "	1336-1328
Bel-uadin-sum	1 "	6 m. 1328-1326
Ka . . .	1 "	6 m. 1326-1325
Bin-nadin-sum	6 "	1325-1319
Bin-nadin-ah	30 "	1319-1289
Melisipak	15 "	1289-1274
Marduk-abla-iddin	13 "	1274-1261
Zamama-nadin-sum	1 "	1261-1260
Bal-nadin . . .	3 "	1260-1257

This dynasty, which some scholars call Kassite, the name itself being broken off, lasted for 576 years and 9 months. As several Assyriologists have already stated, we find here two names mentioned in the Synchronous tablet of Assyria and Babylonia. A great difficulty arises in this instance as to the identification of Assyrian kings known by the Nineveh inscriptions. The two monarchs, Ben-nadin-akh and Zamana-nadin-sum, are coeval to Ninip-abil-ekur (or Ninip-abil-esarra) and Assur-dan-an, perhaps to be read Assur-edil-el. The important question is, whether these two princes are identically the same as the ancestors of Teglatphalasar I, called by him Ninip-abil-ekur and Assur-dayan. Hitherto almost all scholars, George Smith, Sayce, I hear also M. Hommel, and myself, had admitted, without any discussion, the respective identity of these monarchs. But M. Amiaud has pointed out to me the difference existing between the forms of *Assur-dan-an* and that of *Assur-dayan*, and I dare say this remark, which I believe has not been published yet by the author, strikes me for the very reason that this non-identity of the persons does not oblige us to change a numeral figure of the traditional text. I feel, as must do all real chronologists who ask for some credit, the most invincible reluctance to alter numbers which have been handed down to us, lest their falseness be not mathematically proved. Or, the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib fixes the interval between him and the king Marduk-nadin-akhē at 418 years: in maintaining with the other scholars the identity of Assur-dan-an and Assur-dayan, I am bound to change 418 of the copies into 518. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the antagonist of Bin-nadin-akh is really Ninip-abil-ekur: the last sign is wanting (see R. III, 4, 21); it may be possibly not *kur*, but *hira*,

which would destroy not only the identity of the persons, but even that of the names. The historical exactness of the Babylonian statement would thus be put beyond all doubt, and also the Assyrian chronology could be established in a manner much more agreeable to the tradition preserved by Herodotus and Berosus.

We have, it is true, some erroneous statements in the texts, and one of this kind is rectified by another discrepant figure. If we had only one text of Assurbanabal's decagonal document, we should maintain as undeniable that Kudur-Nakhunta, king of Susiana, overran Babylonia 1535 years before the warlike monarch of Niniveh. As, however, we possess another document fixing the Chaldean defeat 1635 years previously to the capture of Susa, we should be at a loss to choose between the two disagreeing statements as to which is the true one. Very happily we are able to decide the question, for a third text assigns for the interval between the two events the laps of two ners, seven soss and 15 years, that is 1635 ($1200 + 420 + 15$) years. By this third inscription we are enabled to acknowledge that the number furnished by the first text is erroneous, and we receive thus the rather discouraging lesson not to follow blindly all possible cuneiform statements which have reached our time.

4. We attack, with doubtful hesitation the fourth dynasty called line of Pasē, composed of 7 kings during 72 years and 6 months.

If the times of Nebuchadnezzar I, antagonist of Assur-ris-isi, king of Assyria, and of Marduk-nadin-akhē, victor of Te glathphalasar I, son of Assur-ris-isi, must be put higher by a century, the lacuna must be filled up in the following manner:

Marduk	17 years	1257-1240
[Nebuchadnezzar I]	6 "	1240-1234
5 kings, together	4 "	1234-1230
[Marduk-nadin-akhē]	22	1230-1208
Marduk-nadin	1 " 6 m.	1208-1206
Marduk-[sapik-kullat]	13 "	1206-1193
Nabu-[saduni]	9 "	1193-1194

Marduk-sapik-kullat and [Nabu]sadun are mentioned in the synchronous tablet as coeval of Assur-bel-kala, son of Teglatphalasar: it is to be observed that the mutilated text of the list seems to give Marduk-zir . . . and Nabu-mu, and that, even thus, our restitutions may inspire some doubts.

5. After this very mysterious dynasty, the royal list is completed by a fragment, published long ago by George Smith, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, t.III, p.361. The three dynasties, the last of which is composed of one king only whose name is not even given, reigned together 47 years 8 months.

a. The first dynasty, of the sea-shore, the south of Mesopotamia, reigned 21 years 5 months, viz.;

Simmas-Sipak	18 years	1184-1166
Ea-mukiu-zir	5 months	1166-1165
Kassû-nadin-akḫ	3 ..	1165-1162

b. The dynasty of Bazi, reigned 20 years and 3 months:

E-ulbar-sakin-sum	17 ..	1162-1145
Ninip-kudur-uṣur	3 .. 3 m.	1145-1142
Silannu-Suqamuna	..	1142

c. One king (Elamite) not named reigned 6 1142-1136

6. From 1136 until 763 we unluckily find a very large gap, the tablet in its complete form can forcibly have only furnished the dynasties, without giving the lists of the kings. The document has a break of sixteen lines to the utmost, in which the series of monarchs during the long interval of 373 years cannot have been contained. Mutilated as it has reached us, the inscription gives two names:

Marduk (broken off) 13 years	1136-1123
Another king 1 month 12 days	... 1123

If we adopt the very acceptable meaning of M. Amiard, we must let follow immediately the names of Nebuchadnezzar I. and Marduk-nadin-akḫē, the antagonist of Teglathphalasar I, who would appear here, according to the statement of the Bavian tablets, 418 years before Sennacherib, the coeval event to which the Ninivite king alludes, wavers between circa 705 and 686 B.C., the most recent date of the invasion of Marduk-nadin-akḫē would be circa 1104, which could be lowered to 1098 if necessary. There would be, therefore, room enough to seat comfortably the two antagonists of Assur-ris-izi and of his son: the latter did not notice his defeat in the great Prima text which has been preserved.

In any case, the two Chaldean kings have their places either here or in the Paṣē dynasty; but against this latter hypothesis may be objected the absence of the name of Marduk-sapik-kullat; and this circumstance, we stated already, must not be underrated. But, by no means, would it be possible to place these two monarchs beyond Sagasaltiyas or Kara (Kudur-Bel). This opinion would be exploded by the apagogical demonstration, by the absurdum of its consequences. We ought then to admit 1100 instead of 1357, and this difference of 257 years would oblige us to put the reign of the pretendant during 42 days in 866 B.C. Now, beyond that epoch we know the Babylonian reigns of Nabu-sum-iskun, Bin-nadin-akh, Nabu-abla-iddin, Nabu-nadin-sum, Marduk-bel-usati, and others, whom we should be obliged to present to the reader, but whom we look for in vain among all the remaining names. This is the very proof of the reality

of our chronology; we are confined as by witchcraft, in a certain circle out of which we cannot escape. We must fix the limit of the first dynasty of Sumu-abi, either in the end of the 26th, or the end of the 25th century. The second hypothesis, however, is only admissible with some difficulty, obliged as we are to change the number of the interval of Nabonidus and Sagasaltiyas from 800 to 700, and to modify the text in order to maintain an arbitrary combination.

Having examined the different mathematical possibilities, we are entitled to state that the opinion we put forth, to attach the dynasties of the list to 2506 B.C., is not a personal meaning, but *the* real chronology of the Chaldean kings.

II.

After the break of the 373 years begins another series of names of a quite different character. No chronological question remains for discussion. Historical discrepancies arise, and for the first time we find Assyrian documents written in the interest of the reigning dynasty of this country contradicted by other texts starting from divergent political principles. The Chronicle we talked of already is thoroughly hostile to the royal family of Nineveh, to Sargon, Sennacherib, his sons, Assurnadin-sum and Assarhaddon: they deny their victories and refuse to these monarchs even the quality of king of Babylon to which they were entitled. On the other side, the predecessors of Sargon, Teglathphalasar and Salmanassar, whose monuments were destroyed and mutilated by his family, are, in opposition to the Royal List and to the Canon of Ptolemy, styled kings of Babylon; the former made certainly two unsuccessful attempts for acquiring this title, in seizing the hands of Bel.¹² In fact it was the Porus of Ptolemy who reigned in Babylon, and the impartial astronomical Canon of Ptolemy and the less disinterested list of kings state his ruling over Babylon.

Salmanassar, on the contrary, has never been king of Babylon, and he never "took the hands of Bel" never, perhaps, did he visit Babylon a king. After the death of Teglathphalasar, which very closely followed his second entering into the holy city, a certain Hulais, the Ululāi of the Royal list, seized the power, and kept it until the accession of Merodachbaladan, three months after the death of Salmanassar, who died before Samaria in besieging this city. The Chronicle itself aids us in acknowledging its own untruth: according to it, Salmanassar died the 5th of Tebet (January), and Merodachbaladan succeeded to him only in Nisan (April). What happened during this interval of three or four months? Nothing

at all; Hulacüs was simply superseded by Merodachbaladan in this very date of April; and Sargon, in his texts, expressly insists upon the illegitimacy of Merodachbaladan, what he never would have done if the new Chaldean king had exploded his enemy Salmanassar.

The facts are shortly as follows: after the defeat of Kimzir, the Chinzirus of Ptolemy, Teglathphalasar may have for a short time occupied Babylon: soon afterwards superseded by Porus, he had his revenge two years afterwards, and died a very short time after his victory. At his death Hulacüs, the Ululāi of the list, reigned, while the king of Assyria, who had, perhaps, made an attempt to seize the Babylonian crown, had been overthrown by his rival.

We see clearly here that the Chronicle, which is also in disagreement with the texts of Sargon and Sennacherib who are right in these points, alters the historical truth for patriotic purposes, in cancelling the names of Porus and Hulacüs.

The opinion that Teglathphalasar and Salmanassar were only other names for Porus and Hulacüs does even not deserve a refutation: this hypothesis is not serious. No reason whatever could be put forth for this identity and for changing glorious names into obscure ones. To several scholars it is granted as an article of faith that when we find two names, we forcibly are in presence of *only one* person. Every one of these four names represents an individual: the four names belong to four men. The Chronicle knows Sargon, Sennacherib, Asaradisu, Assarhaddon, Saosduchin, Assurbanabal, with their real Assyrian names: what reason should the Chronicle have had, hostile to the Assyrians, to mention Assurbanabal, instead of calling him Kandalan, the Chiniladan of the Canon, whom we find in the *Sargonist* royal list? Even this identity of Kandalan and Assurbanabal has been proposed, notwithstanding the express testimony of king Nabonidus, who mentions Assurbanabal, king of Assyria, and who does not confound him with Kandalan, his own predecessor on the throne of Babylon never occupied by Assurbanabal. But the Chronicle fully agrees with Ptolemy's Canon in admitting twice an *interregnum*, which Ptolemy expressly distinguished by ἀβασλευτον á and ἀβασλευτον β'. The Chronicle states that after the failure of Mesesimordacus, Musezib-Marduk, "there was no king in Babylon for eight years": the Canon admits an interregnum from 688 to 680 B.C., while the Royal List attributed these years to Sennacherib, who never was king of Babylon. The first interregnum after the death of Sargon (705-703), for two years is in the List equally given to Sennacherib, who

himself now takes the title of king of Babylon. The predilective *penchant* to identify all such persons would logically entitle us to believe that *Interregnum* is surely *another name for the person elsewhere called Sennacherib!*

In fact, the Canon of Ptolemy, as preserved by Theon, is the very impartial guide, and must serve us to choose between the discrepant statement of the Chronicle and the List. As to the differing reports of the Chronicle and the royal inscriptions, I incline rather to the side of the monarchs, who generally did not mention battles when the result did not exactly agree with their intentions. Sargon pretends, as we have already noticed, that Humbarigas was defeated by him: the Chronicle says that the Elamites were victors. The laconic language of the Assyrian king may, to a certain extent, speak for the Babylonian document's veracity; but the battle of Haluleh, in 689 B.C., was certainly won by Sennacherib although the Chronicle relates his failure. On the other side, the capture of Assaradibus by the Elamites, not mentioned by Sennacherib, may be reputed as really historical; and the double interregnum, the latter of which is noticed by the Chronicles, is, we cannot repeat it too much, plainly corroborated by the sources which Hipparchus of Alexandria had at his disposal.

The Canon of Ptolemy is confirmed in all its details: the only wanting names are Nabu-sum-yakin, who reigned 1 month and 12 days after Nadius, and two kings which the List places between Sargon and Belibus (Bel-ibni): they are named Marduk-zakir-sum, son of Ardu..., the Hagises of Abydenus, who reigned a month, and Marduk-abla-iddin, of Habi, who could maintain himself during half a year: Sennacherib and these two pretendants fill up the first *interregnum* of Ptolemy.

The two cuneiform documents agree in the names of *Nergal-yusezib*, which the Canon corrupted to Ἰριγιβηλος and *Masezib-Marduk*, the Mesêsimordacus of Ptolemy. Both are called *Suzub* by Sennacherib. Nergal-yusezib is named Suzub, son of Gatula, the king defeated at Haluleh is marked as Suzub, the Chaldæan.¹³

The list finishes with Kandalan, the Chiniledan of Ptolemy, very likely the son of Saosduchin, whom his uncle, Assurbanabal, was unable to expel from Babylon.

It furnishes some other curious hints. Teglatphalasar styles Chinzir, king of Sapê; this is the Sapiya of the eponymic tablet and the wrongly-written Sasi of the List. Ilulæus (Ululâi) is from Tenu. The most puzzling statement is that of the origin of Sennacherib and his family,

who are called native from Habigal; Merodachbaladan the semester king, seems to belong to this same family, although the name of his country is only Habi. This pretendant was by no means identical to the famous Merodachbaladan of the Bible, the Mardocempadus of the Canon¹⁴ and the *Almagest*.

These are the historical statements which we can consider as precious results of the List of kings of Babylon.

The chronology is astronomically fixed, and the uncertainty does not exceed one year or some months; there is no more wavering between centuries. We may be quite ascertained about the absolute chronological situation when we shall get some statement about an eclipse within the reign of one of the kings. The canon of Ptolemy is a mere astronomical document, made in order to fix the *days of* the epoch down from Nabonassar: it seems to have been so looked at by Hipparchus, who could peruse Babylonian texts unknowntous. The great Greek astronomer seems to have adapted the original Babylonian dates to the Egyptian calendar and to the leap-years of 365 days. The Nabonassarian era commences with the first Thoth of the 576th year of the Sothiac period, the commencement of which fell on Tuesday, the 20th July Julian, 1322 B.C., the 8th July Gregorian—1321 (8,679 of our myriadic reckoning), and the first Thoth of the year 576 fell therefore on the Wednesday, the 26th of February Julian 747 B. C., or 26th and 18th of February—746, 9, 254. This is the origin [and the meaning of the era of Nabonassar. Ptolemy in following Hipparchus, mentions the following lunar eclipses under the reign of Mardocempadus:

29 Thoth and 1 Paophi year 27, 19—20 March Julian 721 B.C.
first year of Mardocempadus.

18—19 Thoth year 28, year 2 of the king, 9th March 720 B.C.

15 Phamenoth, year 28, year 2 of the king, 1 September, 720 B.C.

As, according to the *Almagest*, the Babylonian documents noted the hours of the night and the duration of the phenomenon, it is evident that the original cuneiform statements did not point out the data by the months Thoth, Paophi or Phamenoth, but by the Chaldaean names; for their identification the great Alexandrian astronomer must have employed very correct calculations. We are at a loss to guess his methods and his system for getting through the irregularities of the Chaldaean embolismic intercalation.

We must content ourselves at present with the statements of the Egyptian calendar of Ptolemy, which enables us to fix with sufficient exactness the dates of the Royal List.

We return to that document, which gives, on the top of the fourth column, six kings of a Babylonian dynasty, who together had a duration

of 31 years. The number, as it is, can only be referred to the length of the time. The number is 31, and not, as we could read 621 (10 soss, 21 years), or 1811 years (20 soss and 11 years) or 1801 (30 soss and 1 year, or 1860 (31 soss). It is a great pity that the names are wanting, where we should have found, without any doubt, the Phul of the Bible, distinct from the second Phul the Ptolemaeon Porus. The whole list runs as follows :

<i>Nabu-sum-iskun</i>		-747
<i>Nabu-nasir</i> (Nabonassar)	14 years	747-733
<i>Nabu-nadin-zir</i> or <i>Nadin</i> (Nadius)	2 ..	733-731
<i>Nabu-sum-yukin</i> , son of Nadin	42 days	731
31 years of the dynasty of Babylon.		
<i>Kin-Zir</i> of Sapc̄ (Chinzirus)	3 years	631-728
<i>Pul</i> (Porus)	2 ..	728-726
<i>Ululai</i> (Hulæus) of Teuu	2 ..	726-721
<i>Marduk-abla-iddin</i> , lord of the sea	22 ..	721-709
<i>Sarkin</i> (Arceanus, Sargon)	2 ..	709-704
<i>Sin-akē-irib</i> (Sennacherib) of Habigal	6 ..	699-693
<i>Nergal-yusezib</i> (Irigibeius)	1 ..	693-692
<i>Musezib-Marduk</i> (Mesesimordacus)	4 ..	692-688
<i>Sin-akē-irib</i>	8 ..	688-680
<i>Assur-ak-iddin</i> (Assarhaddon)	13 ..	680-667
<i>Samas-sum-yukin</i> (Saosduchin)	20 ..	667-647
<i>Kandulan</i> (Chinildan)	22 ..	647-625

The names are sometimes shortened : *Nabu-nadin-zir* to *Nadin*, *Nabu-sum-yukin* to *Sum-yukin*, *Nergal-yusezib* *Musezib-Marduk* to *Suzub*. The Canon comprehends Sennacherib, and the two kings reigning together 7 months, in one *Interregnum*, and describes the second reign of Sennacherib as the second *Interregnum*. We have already observed, and we have nothing to add to the demonstration of the non-identity of the six distinct persons, of Teglethphalasar and of Phul, of Sahnassar and of Hulæus, of Assurbanabal and of Chinildan. JULIUS OPPERT.

NOTES.

1) Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 1884, p. 195.

2) Sitzungsberichte die K. K. Akad. der Wiss., 23 June 1887.

3) The Chaldean figures have been set forth at the second international Orientalists Congress in London in 1874. Transactions p. 46 ss. The discovery of the identity of Mosaic chronology has only been made in 1877, and has been published for the first time *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1877. The 11,340 years, from the first king to Sethos, according to Herodotus, give just the sum of 12 periods of 292 or 3504, and of 12 periods of 653 or 7839 years. This astonishing fact has been exposed in my *Chronologie de la Génèse*, 1877, with several considerations on this point. Suidas states that 654 years are the Phœnia periods. Herodotus is referring to a twice-repeated change in the orientation. I suppose that perhaps the number of 11,340 were those of lustra, and that those 56,700 years were the double of the precessional period. Although Hipparchus only dis-

covered this phenomenon, it is impossible to admit that during so many centuries, the effect of the equinoctial precession would not have struck the mind of the early observers. A vague and unconscious conception may have induced them to admit a great revolution of 28,350 years, which would give $78\frac{1}{4}$ years for a degree, or 45,7 seconds a year instead of 50,3, which is the real value.

4) Diodorus (II, 31) fixes the times on to Alexander to somewhat more than 473,000 years. As the prædiluvian period is of 432,000 years, with the period from 2517 to 330 B.C., we shall have 473,367 years.

5) *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 1887, p. 262.

6) M. Amiaud fixes the date at 2494 B.C.; he differs from me only for 12 years.

7) If we were not opposed to the useless identification of persons bearing different names, we should be inclined to assimilate this king to the well known Rimesin or Eriv-aku.

8) Sumerian form, the Elamite pronunciation of which is unknown.

9) I had the idea to seek the name of Semiramis elsewhere, for instance, in *Sumu-lau*, but it would be too venturesome.

10) A very strange error of calculation is committed by M. Pinches, who has the merit to have discovered this text. In his essay he gives only 500 years to this dynasty instead of 576, from 1570 to 1070, instead of counting from 1570 to 994. Therefore all numbers he gives are erroneous. Or, if he starts from 1070, his most ancient date must not be 2232 B.C., but 2308 B.C.

11) It proves a great ignorance, even of ancient writers, to confound the barbarous highwaymen (Cossæans) *Kusu* in Susian) with the Cissians (Κισσιῶται), the Kassites of the Cuneiform inscriptions. The inventors or employers of the name '*Cossæan*' seem not to be aware that *Cissia* is the only term known to Herodotus for the country we call Susiana! The Cossæans were Turanian, and the Cissian Semites seem to be 'name of father'; *Hammurabi* is explained by the Assyrian *Kintu-rapastu*, 'prosperous race,' *Anni-didagga*, 'race of the law'; *Samsu-iluna* is '*Samas*, (the sun) is good,' *Samsu-ditana*, *Samas* is our lord,' '*Ammi-ditana*, race of our lord.' As the sun has another expression in Elamite, the two names beginning with *Samsu* may be 'servant of our god,' 'servant of our lord.'

12) This ceremony of "seizing the hands of the statue of Bel" was the act by which the pretendant was entitled to assume the title of king of Babylon. Sargon performed this solemn act immediately after his entering into Babylon. The two last eponyms of Teglathphalasar in the Assyrian lists contain the mention of that ceremony which, once accomplished, gave the title for life. The fact that the same king is said to have repeated this act the next year for a *second* time, proves energetically that he had been superseded during the year by the Porus of Ptolemy, the *Pulu* of the lists, whom he defeated in the course of the second year.

13) Prof. Schrader makes the same remarks after Prof. Tiele, whose work is still unknown to me. Here are really two *Suzubs*!




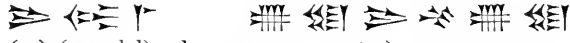


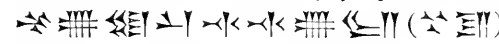
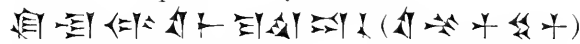
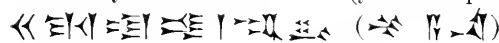


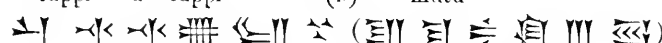
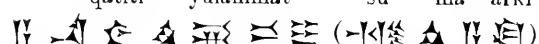
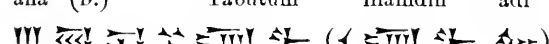
14) The idea of Lenormant about this "Chaldean patriot" is not confirmed by the express statement of the List, as the persons are not the same.

J. O.

A CONTRACT OF APPRENTICESHIP FROM SIPPARA.

Mr. Pinches has formerly published some Contracts of Apprenticeship in No. 6 of the RECORD. In our collection we have found a deed of the same nature, which presents certain interesting peculiarities and an expression not up till now pointed out to our knowledge.

This is the contract, with an interlineal transcription :


 (D) Tabutum maratsu sa Bel ahi iddin

 abal (D.) sangu Samaš ina huut libbi su

 Hamatsiru (D.) galla su ana

 (D.) (uganlal) lamutanutu (D.) muutu

 adi tuppi u tuppi' ana Bel ahi iddin

 abalsusa kuddinnu abal (D.) paseki taaddin

 mātu qatiti yulammatu

 ki la yultammiddu su (yumu 6 qa sebar)

 mandaattum Belahiddin ana

 (D.) Tabutum inamdin Belahiddin

 tuppi u tuppi' (D) mātu

 qatiti yulammat su ma arki 3 arah

 ana (D.) Tabutum inamdin adi

 3 arah elat tuppi u tuppi

𒉈𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 (𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭)
 itraassa su iballat sitiū ib uzaum

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 (𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 . . . 𒀭𒀭)
 (D.)mukinnu Nebo suma iskun abal susa . . .

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
 Nebo suma . . . Bel

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 (𒀭𒀭)
 abal susa Nirgal kiuntum edir abal (D.) sangu Samaš

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
 (D.) tupsar Rimut abal susa Nurea

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
 abal (D.) nappahu Sipparki arah tebitum yum 18 kam

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 (𒀭𒀭) 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
 sanat 8 kam Dariavus

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 (𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭)
 sar eki u mat mat

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 (𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭) 𒀭𒀭
 satarā estin taan¹ ilquu ;

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
 napalkatitanu ½ mana

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
 inamdin.

The phonetic ideogram which commences line 4 is composed of two elements, whose first is shaped with its Akkadian transcription and its Semitic translation in the bilingual vocabularies of Assurbanipal's palace. It is that which in Lenormant is marked 260. Unfortunately the Semitic translation has disappeared by a fracture of the tablet, and as to the Akkadian transcription *sakan*, it presents to us reunited the transcriptions of the two elements into which this sign can be separated. In fact < is read *sa* in Akkadian, particularly when it represents the copulative conjunction, and on its side 𒀭𒀭 is pronounced *gan*. This therefore, teaches us nothing. But if we compare this deed with tablet 81, 6, 25, 53, of the British Museum, published by Mr. Pinches, we see that the Semitic word to be read here ought to be a derivative of the word *lamadu* "to teach." Among the words derived from that root and which are perfectly known to us is found the word *lamutānu*

which we have already pointed out in our work upon the *Obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*, as having the meaning of scholar, student, apprentice. We have found some other examples of this special signification in some tablets of our own collection, and in the new series of texts which Mr. Strassmaier has recently published. The abstract noun formed by *lamutanu*, *lamutanutu* would therefore, signify apprenticeship, as *lammadutu*, abstract noun directly formed from *lamadu*, and which we find with the same signification in *W. A. I.*, V. 53, 22), and, being followed by a word likewise abstract, *mutu*, it would mean the apprenticeship to the profession designated by this last word.²

As to the determinative which precedes each of these two abstract words in the 4th line of our text, this ought so much the less to astonish us because it precedes likewise the word *isparutu* in the 3rd line of the first of the two texts published by Mr. Pinches, which has in no way precluded him, and ought not to have precluded him, from seeing in *isparutu* an abstract noun formed upon the name of the trade *usbar*. There is besides exactly the same in Egyptian. The names of agents are formed in Demotic by $\gamma\eta\rho = \rho\eta$ man. $\epsilon\zeta$, the mark of the third person and of certain participles. $\rho\eta\epsilon\zeta$ has become in Coptic $\rho\epsilon\zeta$ by elision of the η . Now this $\rho\epsilon\zeta$ is maintained with abstract formative $\epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau$, Dem. $\epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau$. It is thus that on $\tau\epsilon\zeta\omega$ "to teach," there has been found first $\rho\epsilon\zeta\tau\epsilon\zeta\omega = \epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau\gamma\eta\rho$ "the man who teaches," "the master," then the abstract word $\epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\zeta\omega$ "the teaching". Let us add that sometimes in Coptic even $\rho\eta$ has retained its primitive form, when it was not followed by $\epsilon\zeta$, as, for example, in the words $\epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon\zeta$, $\epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\eta\epsilon\epsilon$, $\epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\epsilon\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau$, &c.

It remains to know what was the trade designated by the word *mutu* and which demanded an apprenticeship. It was evidently a trade productive by the work even of the apprentice³, since both in our contract and in Mr. Pinches' contract relative to this same trade the owner of the slave who gives his slave as an apprentice is bound to pay nothing for his maintenance. Besides, the apprentice's stay, when completely instructed, is prolonged during three months with his master so that this master may completely pay himself, for the expenses which he has disbursed previously by the labour of a workman completely taught. We see in our days a great

number of such contracts occurring in manual occupations. In France dressmakers, modistes, tailors, dyers agree often to charge themselves with an apprenticeship, on condition that they shall keep during a certain fixed time that workman or that workwoman when their instruction shall be completed, without paying them anything.

The word *mutu* is certainly formed on the same model as the word *isbaratu* and so many other abstract nouns. The final *utu* has been added to a root *mu*. Now this word *mu* is often met with as indicating the name of a trade in the new series of texts published by Mr. Strassmaier, in our collection, in that of the Louvre, &c. We do not, therefore, think that it is necessary to seek in *mutu* a root *mutu*. Let us add that the word *muu* had as synonym the word *baa* according to a text reproduced on the 28th plate of the British Museum's Vth volume. It is true that this does not make anything clear for us; for we can no longer recognise the exact value of the word *baa* as that of the word *muu*. Besides, whatever be the profession indicated, it could not demand a high intellectual application. It is a manual trade like that formally mentioned in the tablet reproduced by Mr. Pinches, and which bears the word *qati*, "hand." Ours replaces, it is true, this word *qati* by the word *qatiti*, which cannot be the plural; the vocalisation is opposed to that. The *mutu qatiti* was a trade in which one must especially use an instrument named *qatitu*. But this instrument, whose name recalls so nearly the word *qatu*, "hand," must no doubt be some of those which they plied with the hand. The two texts, therefore, support each other.

In ours the expression *tuppi u tuppi* is met with three times which permits the meaning being fixed by the contexts. We are led to an idea which is not very far removed from the meaning of the Arabic *تَمَّانٌ* in the expressions *بِتَمَّانٍ* and *عَشْرِي تَمَّانٍ* "at the opportune time, at the time agreed on." *Tuppi u tuppi* is the time agreed on, time necessary for the scholar or apprentice to have acquired sufficient instruction. This time may change according to the capacities of the apprentice or scholar, and that is the reason why it is not specified.

It is true that in a deed, the first of those which Mr. Pinches has quoted, a limit of five years is fixed for the duration of the residence with his master, and the exercise with him of the trade of a weaver for a slave who has been placed as an apprentice. But it is only during the time of this apprenticeship, burdensome for the master because of the materials which would be lost by the unskilfulness of the apprentice.

it is only during this time, *tuppi u tuppi*, that the woman *Nupta* who places this slave in these circumstances must contribute to his maintenance by an alimentary pension. Here then the time necessary to the apprenticeship (probably much longer than for the trade of man *muu*, and less lucrative in its outset), is to count upon the duration of the whole residence estimated at 5 years, in place of going off altogether, before the beginning of a period of three months only of utilization of a skilled workman for the condition of *muu*.

Let us now look at the translation of our tablet :

“The woman *Tabutum*, daughter of *Bel ahi iddin*, of the tribe of the *sangu* of *Samaš*, in the satisfaction of his heart, has given the man *Hamatziru*, her slave, in apprenticeship for the trade of *mutu*, until the necessary period, to *Bel ahi iddin*, son of *Kuddinnu*, of the tribe of the *Paseki*. He will teach the *mutu qatiti*. If he does not teach him, *Bel ahi iddin* will give to the woman *Tabutum* (per day $\frac{1}{6}$ of an ephah, that is to say, 6 qa of wheat), as price of his *locutio (operarum)*. He will teach him the trade of *mutu qatiti* in the necessary time, and, three months after, he will send him back to the woman *Tabutum*. Up till three months beyond the necessary time (for the apprenticeship) he shall retain him. He (the slave) will live upon the products of his own work.

“Witnesses : *Nebo suma iskun*, son of . . . of tribe of *Nebo sumu*. . . .

“*Bel . . .* son of *Nirgal Kimtumedir*, of the tribe of the *sangu* of *Samaš*,

“Scribe : *Rimut*, son of *Nurea*, of the tribe of the smiths :

“*Sippara*, the 18th *Tebit* of the 8th year of *Darius*, king of *Babylon* and of countries.”

“They receive the writing together. The transgressor (of this contract) will pay $\frac{1}{2}$ mina.”

The value of the word *mandatum*, signifying in these contracts between private persons “rents” or the price of rent paid in kind for a tenancy or *locatio* of every kind, was fixed by us last year in our work upon *les obligations en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*, at the same time as we fixed the value of the word *idi*, which represents the sum for rent, particularly when that rent had to be paid in silver, at least in part.

In the 14th line the portion of the phrase: *adi 3 arah elat tuppi u tuppi itraassasu* determines thoroughly the meaning which we have indicated above of the locution *tuppi u tuppi*; in fact the preposition *elat* which is by a usage extremely frequent in the contracts signifies there always ‘outside of’ or ‘besides,’ and is applied always to things of a similar kind. *Tuppi u tuppi* can therefore represent nothing but a period of time like the words “three months” which precede it.

As to *itraassi*, it is the 3 per. future Itpaal of the verb *rasu*, used here exactly with the same shade of meaning as in the deeds from Warka translated by us in 1885, *nim mala sa isuu u irassu*, "all that they possess or shall possess." We have besides had occasion recently to comment upon this whole question of the different meanings of the word *rasu* and its derivatives. At the end of line 15 we have supplied in the *lacuna* the words *ina muzibti su* after the verb *iballat*: This verb *ib llat*, in fact, governs the preposition *ina* with the shade of meaning "to live by." In one of the contracts of Mr. Strassmaier's first series it is used: "in the day from which the woman Gugua^s shall live on the interest of her money...*umy mala Gugua baldat ina harra kaspi su*:" and in the second part of this same phrase we find the word *muzibutum* to represent very nearly the same thing as the word *zibtum* in the bilingual tablets of Assur-bani-pal. In fact *muzibutum* is a participial form of the same root. It is that which they can produce from their work or their property. In one of Mr. Pinches' contracts it is also said that the owners of a slave will allow him for the supply of his needs, during the period of his apprenticeship, his *muzibtum* at the same time as they will pay for him per day a certain quantity of cereals.

Thus according to these three deeds, compared with one another, we see what were in Babylonia the usual conditions of contracts of apprenticeship.

According to the greater or less difficulty of this apprenticeship, and according to the products which the work of the slave might be able to yield from the earliest date, it could be agreed upon what should be, during the necessary period to become a skilful workman, what concerned his maintenance, either at the charge of his owner or of the patron. In delicate and difficult apprenticeships, such as that of a weaver of stuffs, the patron would demand that he should be assured a long enough time of service to profit by the labour of the man whom he should train, before consenting to undertake his instruction. The time of apprenticeships thus included the total period, and during this apprenticeship the owner paid at least in part the expenses of his board.

When, on the other hand, the apprenticeship was easy and productive, the patron, who charged himself then, besides, with the expenses of board, asked nothing but a short utilization, three months for example, besides the length of the apprenticeship, the length of which always remained unfixed.

In one case as much as in the other, moreover, if the patron should neglect to teach his trade to the slave whom he had received, he was bound to pay for the work as if he had been let out during the same time.

If one of the parties should depart from the contract (for it is there the juridical signification that there must always be attributed to the word *napalkitanu*, and that we have always attributed to it, since the root would read "to transgress, to pass from, to traverse"): if, for example, the owner withdrew his slave from the house of the patron before the fixed time, or if the patron sent him back contravening it, he should pay to the other party a sum indicated in virtue of the penal clause. The penal clauses are much employed in the demotic contracts, where this is the ordinary form: "Whoever of us shall turn aside for not acting according to every word herein shall give so much" to the other party. The word which we have translated by "turn aside" is the word *set*, (from which comes the Coptic factitive $\tau\Delta\text{CTO}$), which signifies "to turn aside from one's path, &c." It is one which corresponds exactly enough with the Babylonian expression.

E. & V. REVILLOUT.

NOTES.

1) Here the sign Δ is put for Ψ as very frequently after the words Ψ , Σ , Ξ , Θ &c., when it precedes the indication of the sum or the quantity, and ought to be translated into French by the words "à savoir." But we have never found it in an expression composed like this one.

2) In No. 20 of the texts of Nabonidus by Mr Strassmaier, we have found the word Δ itself, and it certainly possesses the signification which we have attributed to it, that of apprenticeship, for it is used in the phrase in question (ll. 14 and 15) regarding one named Samas Dainuepus, son of Mitzirai (the Egyptian), who was bound in apprenticeship (Ψ Δ) to (Δ) a templeworkman whose name, mutilated, is found in the preceding line.

3) Instruction in reading and writing was paid of necessity, because beyond this price nothing accrued to the master. A Coptic contract shows us how they proceeded in such a case:

Δ $\text{no}\kappa$ $\text{na}\tau\epsilon\rho$ $\text{pe}\rho\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\overline{\text{epetpoc}}$ $\text{fcoo}\tau\text{p}$ $\Delta\tau\omega$ fzo
 eolovet eepnotte $\chi\epsilon$ Δ icsak $\text{presv}\tau\text{ep(oc)}$ $\psi\tau\omega\rho\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\tau\sigma\sigma\tau\gamma$ $\text{e}\phi\epsilon\tau$ $\overline{\text{p}\sigma\tau\text{reenc}}$ ne $\chi\epsilon$ $\text{ek}\psi\alpha\text{ntca}\beta\theta$ pa
 $\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\text{ec}\gamma\alpha\text{i}$ $\text{p}\eta\omega\psi$ $\text{fna}\tau\alpha\alpha\gamma$ nak $\text{eepnc}\omega\varsigma$ fzo eol
 ovet $\chi\epsilon$ $\Delta\gamma\tau\alpha\beta\theta$ $\epsilon\omega\psi$ $\text{eepat}\gamma\beta\iota\tau\gamma$ $\gamma\alpha\tau\eta\gamma$ $\Delta\tau\omega$
 $\Delta\gamma\tau\alpha\beta\iota$ $\overline{\text{p}\tau\epsilon\gamma\beta\iota\chi}$. Δ $\text{no}\kappa$ $\text{na}\tau\epsilon\rho$ ($\text{eol}\sigma\tau\epsilon$) $\text{fct}\tau\chi$ ($\epsilon\iota$)
 $\epsilon\text{f}\gamma\tau\text{p}\sigma\beta\sigma\lambda\eta$: Δ $\text{no}\kappa$ $\gamma\alpha\rho\omega\text{p}$ $\text{p}\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\overline{\text{p}\text{icsak}}$ $\Delta\gamma\chi\sigma\sigma\gamma$
 $\epsilon\rho\sigma\text{i}$ $\Delta\text{ics}\gamma\alpha\text{i}$ $\text{f}\beta\bar{\chi}\chi\epsilon$ $\Delta\tau\omega$ fo $\overline{\text{eepar}}$ ($\text{t}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma$)

"I Patermonte, son of Peter, I know and declare by God that, Isaac the priest has promised to Pheu a trimesion (of gold) saying: 'If thou teachest my son to write and read, I will give it to thee.' After that I declare that he has learned to read before he has been taken to him and he writes with his hand; I, Patermonte, I subscribe this declaration: I, Aaron, son of Isaac, he has told me this: I have written the tablet, and I am witness."

In the most ancient times, moreover, all the instruction which composed a liberal education was already paid, and it sometimes cost a great sum as is shown by, among others, a document published by Mr. Maspero in his "memoir upon epistolary style among the Egyptians." At the time of the Lagides there was in every town a house for a school whose master was called $\Upsilon\epsilon\zeta\zeta\Delta\Upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ "the scribe of the house of instruction," see papyrus 2425 in the Louvre. It is by this "scribe of the house of instruction" that Setna causes to be written his wedding-contract in the romance which bears his name.

This instruction there would be paid by the state. In the temples they had also schools: for example, those of the young hierogrammates (of whom the inscription of the nao-phoros statue tells us), which, interrupted for a little under Cambyses, were re-established by Darius. An instruction which was likewise given in the temples was that in music, the director of which was the *hosso* $\Upsilon\zeta\zeta\Delta\Upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ or $\Upsilon\zeta\zeta\Upsilon$ or $\zeta\iota\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ of the decree of Canopus. But this instruction was also given outside by guilds on a free system. It is that training $\Upsilon\epsilon\zeta\zeta\Delta\Upsilon$ to which constant reference is made in the satirical poem. Horut'a had even written a book on his subject, or pretended to do so. All science was included there. We should not forget that the class of *rexia*, "savants," (in demotic *sax mat'i* and in Greek *pterophores*) formed a distinct part of the Egyptian priesthood, and taught all the human sciences comprising medicine, in which, according to St Clement, they piously produced books in solemn panegyrics. The most illustrious Greek philosophers went to be taught by those *rexia* of whom they name many: among others the celebrated Chonouphis of Memphis. They doubtless paid them well, and perhaps from this there has arisen the custom of paying so dearly in Greece philosophic and rhetoric teachers from whom lessons were taken. We know that Alexandria was still in the Roman period the greatest school of liberal science, and that it was sufficient, according to Gallien, to have gone to study there to get one the reputation of being learned.

In the satirical poem it is related that the house of instruction at Panopolis was destroyed from top to bottom and inundated with blood, under Augustus, by the imperial troops, because that school had taken part in the general insurrection of the whole Thebaïde against the Romans. See the "satirical poem" and my second "memoire sur les Blemmyes" just published.

4) In the historical texts this word is applied to dues paid to the king, exactly as in Egyptian, in the decree of Rosetta, the word *skar*, which, in the demotic contracts, signifies first and specially "sum for rent" (as in the Coptic contracts $\Upsilon\Upsilon\kappa\epsilon\pi$ and $\Upsilon\Upsilon\sigma\text{HP}$, Heb. שכר), describe a whole class of contributions. In Coptic $\Upsilon\Upsilon\sigma\text{HP}$ is applied

also to the rents of *locatio operarum*, as in a text recently published by us *idi* is applied to the sum for hire of the labours of a slave.

5) We have in demotic many contracts analogous to that of Gugna, in which certain mothers give some goods which belong to them to their sons, on condition that those will pay to them certain allowances. In other cases it is the son only who, without anything being given in his favour, pays a certain alimentary pension to his mother. E. & V. R.

ON THE MEANING OF JAREB IN HOSEA.

IN the December number of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* Prof. Sayce discusses this question, and suggests that Jareb was the original name of Sargon, the king of Assyria, mentioned in the 20th chapter of Isaiah, and known by the Babylonian records to have been the father of Sennacherib. He urges that, as Sargon means "constituted king," it was most likely not his original name, but one which he subsequently assumed. This may have been so; but I can hardly think it is made more probable by the comparatively recent discovery that the name had been borne long before by a previous Semitic monarch in Babylonia. There is no reason to suppose that the parents of the younger Cyrus intended him for the throne when they gave him the name of the founder of the Persian empire; or that Nabonidus had any similar intention when he gave his younger son the famous name of Nebuchadnezzar. (See Mr. Boscawen's paper in the same number of the *B. & O. Record*). We do not know who Sargon's father was, or whether he belonged to the royal race; but he may have given his son that name merely as that of a famous former king. However, the question is whether, if Sargon had any other original name, that name was Jareb, a word found in two passages (v. 13, and x. 6) in the book of the prophet Hosea. I submit that a full consideration of the Hebrew shows that this conjecture is untenable.

Prof. Sayce says that "the want of an article before *melech* (king) can scarcely be explained unless Jareb is really used as a proper name." Now I believe it will be found that when the word *melech* stands in apposition before a proper name in the Hebrew Scriptures, instead of wanting the definite article, it is invariably accompanied by it. But when, on the other hand, it stands before the name of the country to the king of which allusion is made, the article is omitted. For this reason Hebrew scholars are agreed that "king Arad the Canaanite" of Numbers xxi. 1 in the A. V. should be (as it is in the R. V.) "the Canaanite, the king of Arad," there being no article before *melech*; whilst that "Arad" was a place is clear from Josh. xii. 14.

The Septuagint translators, it is true, left the word nearly as, in the original, *Ιαρεβ*; but that was often their wont when they did not understand a word, and by no means proves that they took it as a proper name.

It is well known that the Vulgate renders this word as *rex ultor* ("ad regem ultorem"); and that Jerome justified taking it in this sense by the precedent of the name Jerubbaal (Jerub-Baal=let Baal plead, *i. e.* plead for or defend himself) by which Gideon was called in consequence of the decision of his father when appealed to respecting his overthrowing the altar of Baal. But surely this is hardly analogical, since the word Baal follows the epithet in Judges, whilst *melech* precedes Jareb in Hosea.

I conclude, therefore, that Jareb is probably a name, but of the country or place governed by the king, not that of the king himself. If this be allowed, it is not quite certain even then which is its correct signification. From Hosea v. 13, it would seem most likely that it was another name for Assyria; but of course it may be another name for its capital city, just as the kings of Israel were sometimes called, after the time of Omri, kings of Samaria.

It is obvious that I am not contesting Prof. Sayce's theory as to the particular occasion alluded to in that chapter (which he considers to be that of the accession of Sargon whilst the siege of Samaria was in progress), but only his view that Jareb was the original name of the king of Assyria; it seems to me that its more probable signification is that of the whole or some important part of his dominions.

W. T. LYNN.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

PEHLEVI NOTES.—III.

THE SEMITIC SUFFIX *-MAN* AND ITS ORIGIN.

§ 1.

WE have examined in No. I. of these Notes (No. 6, April, 1887) the curious formative syllable *-ân*, which is invariably used in Pehlevi to complete the stem of verbs borrowed from the Semitic, and so inserted immediately before the flexional endings. We there suggested¹ that this *ân* is in reality a nummated 3 pers. plural, of either present or aorist tenses: so that, for instance, *ashkakh-ân-tano* contains a 3 p. pl. apher present, and *yaktib-un-tano*, as we may write it if we like, a 3 p. pl. aorist. Perhaps from these inflected tenses, it has been by analogy extended to stems formed from participles, e. g. *makdr-ân-tano* (from a participial form beginning with *ma-*).

We may next proceed to remark that some other parts of speech, chiefly pronouns and nouns, frequently take another equally mysterious formative syllable *-man*. Not all indeed. *Zak* (this) is simply זק;—*li* (I) is לי, as *luk* (thon) is לך,—oblique cases for nominatives. So *shem* is שם, name. Sometimes, indeed frequently, the emphatic form is preferred: *malká* for king is too familiar to quote: so *gabrá man*, is exactly גברא⁷ or גברא. Still, the use of *-man* is very extensive; thus:

1. In personal pronouns: *lanman* (we), from לן + *-man*; *val-man* from an obscure form + *-man*.

2. In demonstratives, *den-man* (this) from דן + *-man*.

3. In interrogatives and relatives: *ma-man* (who, what, &c.): from מא, or מן + *-man*.

4. In Particles: *levatman* (with), from Ch. לוית, Syr. לש, + *-man*; *tamman* (there) from תם, which also exists in the form תמן—a fact to be referred to presently,—and its opposite *letamman* (here)=לם.

5. In Nouns. This is the commonest usage of all; and though not *all* Semitic nouns take the affix, as above remarked, yet it may justly be said to be a characteristic indication of such Semitic words. It is almost needless to quote examples of a fact so well known. Among others are *gadmān* (גַּדְמָן) 'hand': *gadmān* (גַּדְמָן, גְּלָא) 'glory': *ragalmān* (רַגְלָמָן) 'foot': *akhtmān* (אֲחַתְמָן) 'sister': &c. Specially to be noted is *wajšmān* (וַיִּשְׁמָן), which, signifying 'soul,' has come to be used as the ordinary equivalent of 'self,' and so may be reckoned a reflexive pronoun.

§ 2.

It is now time to enquire into the origin of the suffix *-mān*. It seems reasonable to look for it among the Semitic languages. Looking back over the above lists, the reader will observe that only once,—in the case of the adverb *tammān* = תַּמְמָן under No. 4, do we actually come across the use of this suffix *-mān* in a Semitic word: for in this case the form is clearly to be analysed into תָּם (the simple form for 'there') + מָן (suffix). It is but natural to take this latter as a pronominal suffix, probably identical with the Aramaic מָן = 'who? what?' (*Daniel* iii, 15; *Esdra*s v, 3, 4, 9): and as an indefinite 'any,' in the compound מִן־כֹּל = 'whosoever' (*Daniel* iii, 6, 11; iv, 14). (The interrogative מָן is perhaps preserved in Hebrew in the well-known מִן הַרְוֵא of Exodus xvi, 15, supposed by some to be the origin of the name 'manna'.) In any case, we can scarcely hesitate to connect it with the interrogatives and indefinites מַה, מַה. ('quid?' also 'quisquis').

In the cognate languages we have Aethiopic ጠን (mannū), both interrogative and indefinite: the invariable Arabic forms مَن (man) and مَا (mā), also interrogative and relative.

The Assyrian gives very interesting results. Following Sayce's grammar, we obtain numerous pronominal forms: *mannu*, *mānu*, *man*, *mā*. = who? Also, as enclitics, *me*, *mī*. Then,—what is still more important,—we have actually the form *mammān*, as an indefinite, which is exactly the Pehlevi 𐭌𐭎𐭎 (*maman*), quoted above *sub* 3. Other forms of this are *mamma*, Babylonian *manama*, Achaemenid form *manma*. With this form, *mammān*, Oppert well compares ὄστις. This finding of the Pehlevi 𐭌𐭎𐭎 in Assyrian is significant, and encourages us to look for further elucidation to the same source. If we take to pieces Oppert's ingenious equation: *mammān* = ὄστις, we shall get a pronominal suffix —*mān* = -τις, indefinite.

Another (though emphatic) form in Assyrian is *ma*, used as an enclitic to nouns and pronouns, e.g. *sar Assur-ma*, 'king of this

Assyria': *sanati-ma*, 'this year': *gati-ma*, 'I here' (egomet): *anni-ma*, 'this person here,' &c. Sayce (*Assyrian Grammar*, p. 13) makes this *ma* a demonstrative, and contracted from *anna*. I should very much like to know whether it might not be taken as a simple indefinite, just like *ma* above. Is it necessary to suppose a contraction?

Interesting again is the enclitic and indefinite use of *manma*, as in the following line:

<i>lā</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>khullā</i>	<i>manma</i> .	(Sayce, p. 47).
sive	tribunus	sive	miles	<i>quis</i> .	

All these parallelisms lead me to the suggestion that the Pehlevi suffix 𐭌 may be nothing else than the remnant of a Semitic pronominal suffix, enclitic and indefinite in value, of which traces are still seen in Aramaic 𐤌𐤍 and Assyrian *manma*, above quoted, wherein *-man* = *-tis*, *-quis*, *quidam*, or *quidem*. If this be so, *gati-ma* would be literally 'mans quaedam,' *ragi-ma*, 'pes quidam': *tanu u*, 'nos quidem.' The explanation seems to me simple and satisfactory. It would be interesting to ascertain what further uses of such a form, *-man*, are to be found in the Semitic languages.

§ 3.

The above suggestions repose on the supposition that the Parsi reading of *man* for 𐭌 is really correct. As remarked, however, in No. 3, p. 72 of this volume of the *B. & O. R.*, the supporters of the logogrammatic theory of Pehlevi take 𐭌 to be a mis-reading of a Sassanid form $\text{𐭌} = \hat{a}$. This was maintained in 1869 by Dr. E. W. West; and the same eminent Pehlevist, in 1882, published in the *Indian Antiquary*² an interesting article on a stone talisman with Pehlevi inscription, which he considers to afford full proof of the accuracy of his theory. I owe to the courtesy of Dr. West a copy both of this paper and of photographs of the talisman. "In three words of the inscription (*barman*, thrice: *nafshman*, once; *denman*, twice,) we have the syllable used *man*; but the forms differ. There is a regular gradation of forms in this inscription from the Sassanian letter (i.e. 𐭌 in *barman* of line 2) to its modern representative 𐭌 *-man*, illustrative of the progress from the one form to the other, and showing that this final syllable—*man* can hardly have arisen from a combination of the letters *m* and *n*, but from a gradual alteration of the form of a single letter of the Sassanian alphabet, which letter in the great majority of cases corresponds to the Chaldee emphatic suffix *-ā*."

This is certainly a strong case. Noldeke follows the same view, and

practically carries it out in his readings,³ like M. Barthelemy referred to before. Still I must confess to some doubts on the point:

(1) No other parallel case of such a misreading exists, as far as I know in Pehlevi.

(2) If *man* is merely a misreading for *á*, why do certain words⁴ always take the form 𐭠 and others always take the form 𐭡 ? Such cases are 𐭠𐭠𐭠 on the one hand, 𐭡𐭡𐭡 on the other. We never find the endings used indifferently.

(3) The equations $\text{𐭠𐭠𐭠} = \text{𐭠𐭠𐭠}$ and $\text{𐭠𐭠} = \text{Assyrian } manman$ seem strongly to support the reading *man*.

Dr. West, whom these difficulties have not escaped, suggests one or two very ingenious replies.

In (2) he finds an argument for the 'logogrammatic' reading of Pehlevi. "Why the Sassanians used 𐭠 and 𐭡 to represent the same sound, but always in different words, I cannot adequately explain. If they read their Semitic words originally as they spelt them, why should they write 𐭠𐭠𐭠 for *malaká*, and 𐭡𐭡𐭡 for *bará*? So far as I can see, they would hardly do so unless they had adopted the whole words as logograms from two different sources."⁵ He adds: "Some people might say that one of the letters represents *á* (𐭠), the other *h* (𐭡), for which letter there is no separate letter in Sassanian." This appears to be practically what Noldeke does, for he says (*ut sup.*): "Bei einem Wort wird z. B. *á*, die Endung des sog. Status emphaticus, 𐭠 geschrieben, bei einem andern 𐭡 ." Still I venture to submit that what Dr. West very wisely and prudently offers as a suggestion, Noldeke boldly confirms with an *ipse dixit* as undoubted fact. To me, at least until further evidence, this double ending 𐭠 𐭡 appears unproven. Besides, even in this case, why again should the two endings be kept so rigorously distinct for different words and never confused?

As regards (3) Dr. West very well remarks that, in addition to 𐭠𐭠𐭠 , there is the form 𐭠𐭠𐭠 to compare with 𐭠𐭠𐭠 : so that this case at best *anceps*, but of the Assyrian *manman* there can be no doubt, and this, I think, is almost enough to justify our view. L. C. CASARTELLI.

NOTES.

1) Dr. West points out that the suggestion was virtually anticipated by Haug in his Essays.

2) Vol. XI, part 135; pp. 223-6.

3) So *bēnajaschá*, *laná*, &c., *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte*, p. 152. (Leipzig, 1888).

4) About 50, says Dr. West.

5) I owe these remarks to a private MS. communication of Dr. E. W. West, containing much valuable criticism and suggestion. L. C. C.

THE RACES OF MAN IN THE EGYPTIAN DOCUMENTS.
[A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE].

Most valuable data are now at the disposal of enquirers on this interesting subject.

Two American scholars, Nott and Gliddon, in their common work *Types of Mankind*, published at Philadelphia in 1857, had made use of the Egyptian representations of races on the monuments. But it was in 1863 that Dr. R. Stuart Poole in his paper on *The Ethnology of Egypt* (pp. 260-264 of *Transactions of the Ethnological Society* of London, N. S. vol. II.) called the attention of scholars to the importance of the Egyptian monuments in the study of the races of man, because their data extend through a longer period than those of the ethnology of any other country.

Prof. E. Lefebure came next in date with a paper on *Les Races connues des Egyptiens*, published in 1880, pp. 60-76, vol. I, of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*.

At the 5th International Congress of Orientalists held at Berlin the following year, Prof. Heinrich Brugsch gave his important paper on *Die altägyptische Völkertafel*, which appeared in the *Verhandlungen* of the Congress, vol. II, sect. III, pp. 25-79.

Later on, the Society of Biblical Archæology published in vol. IV, pp. 44-48 of its *Transactions*, a new paper from Prof. E. Lefebure on *Les quatre races au jugement dernier*. But this arrangement was of late date and mythologic in accordance with the 4 points of space, and at variance with the monumental evidence of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and former dynasties. On this division, *vid.* H. Brugsch: *Geographischen Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, vol. II, pp. 89-91; F. Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité historique d'après les sources Égyptiennes* (1872), pp. 97-100; François Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire*, vol. II, 1882, pp. 201-203; and quite lately Dr. J. Lieblein, in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. X, pp. 545-552: *Les quatre races dans le ciel inférieur des Égyptiens* has given a new translation of an inscription referring to the four races from the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I. in the Soane Museum.

Notwithstanding the previous papers and researches, some of which have a real importance, scholars were still without handy and complete means of study. In 1886, at the meeting of the British Association, a grant was

voted for the purpose, and Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie accepted the task of executing squeezes and photographs of select types of heads from the wall-paintings and reliefs in temples and tombs on the Nile. A committee of competent scholars was appointed to draw up the necessary instructions, and the result of the work is now at the disposal of scholars. Mr. Flinders Petrie brought back photos and casts, which in their turn have been photographed in a convenient size and published in an album or in series by Mr. R. V. Harman, 75, High Street, Bromley, Kent. The collection is accompanied by the report of the committee, drawn up by Mr. F. Petrie himself, and some *Remarks on this collection of Ethnographic Types in Egypt*, 1887, by the Rev. Henry George Tomkins, as submitted to the meeting of the British Association in Manchester last year. Dr. R. S. Poole, a member of the committee, lectured on the Races of Egypt before the Anthropological Institute in the same year, and Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie himself has written for this *Record* a special notice, *Ethnographic Casts from Egypt*, which appears in our present number.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

ETHNOGRAPHIC CASTS FROM EGYPT.

THE series of paper casts with which I returned from Egypt have now been fully worked out in a suitable form for study. From these squeezes a complete set of plaster casts were made, covering about two hundred square feet: this set has been exhibited, by kind arrangement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in the gallery at South Kensington, and it has now been presented by the British Association to the British Museum. But for practical study these casts are inconvenient, owing to their size, weight, and cost. A series of 150 photographs were accordingly taken from them: and these are far more clear and distinct than the original casts appear to be, as I could arrange the best direction, angle, and extent of illumination for each cast separately. These negatives, and those photographed directly from the paintings in Egypt, are all now placed in a photographer's hands, and any person can order prints from them on their own account: the use of the negatives is wholly free, and the cost of prints (2s. 3d. per dozen, or 45s. the set) is merely the necessary expense of

producing copies.* The resulting material for study, in 190 photographs, which include about 360 faces, is far more complete and trustworthy than any collection hitherto made; and I propose to briefly point out here some of the conclusions which are suggested by the various types. To prevent misapprehension, I should first say that the diversity between the various races as represented, and yet the identity in the portraits of the same race done by different artists in different ages, gives us the strongest ground for trusting the exactness of the types to the fullest extent. I could readily now distinguish at a glance more than a dozen different races, where there were no names accompanying the figures. Hence I must ask for a full confidence in the value of the likenesses which may be seen between different heads. Their resemblance is not the result of a mannerism in the sculpture, but of an identity of the originals.

The first striking point is the strong resemblance of the people of Pun or Punt (on both shores of the south part of the Red Sea) to the Egyptians of the higher class. That there were two races in early Egypt seems assured by the very different types met with on the earliest tombs: one with an aquiline nose and fine expression, the other prognathous with a snouty nose. The aquiline type is identical with the people of Pun; the coarser examples of one with the coarser of the other, and the finer examples with the finer; they hang together throughout in a way which seems beyond any casual resemblance. The head of a Punite chief is identical in every detail of feature and expression with that of Seti II.; and the heads of other Punites parallel the characteristic heads of a son of Khufu and his servants. When we remember the peaceful relations of the Egyptians with the Punites, and the respect which they always showed to the people of the "divine land," it seems far from impossible that the civilization of Egypt might be due to a Punite race penetrating to Abydos by the Kosseir road, and so originating the early dynasties in the midst of the Nile Valley. At least this must be borne in mind in all future speculations on the primitive Egyptians.

It seems not unlikely that another development of the Punite race may have taken place by a tribe passing further up the Red Sea, and penetrating to the Mediterranean. There they spread up the Syrian coast and formed the Pomi or Phœnicians, and in the western part of the Mediterranean became the Punie race of history. On comparing the

* Application should be made to Mr. R. V. Harman, 75, High Street, Bromley, Kent, stating whether a loose set for selections, or a complete mounted set with printed titles is required. Some delays might occur, owing to the difficulty of printing in bad weather.

maritime Pulista or Philistines in these photographs we see at once a very close resemblance to the Punites. These resemblances are such that a head of each race might readily be two different versions of the same individual as portrayed by two different sculptors; and their dissimilarity to the figures of any other race is clear and certain.

A very different type to these is seen in the Shardana, Shakalsha, and Mashuash, who are very similar; and these join on to the type of the Lebu and Tahennu; or in other words—according to geographical identifications, which seem more likely than any others—the Sardinians, Sicilians, and North African races were all allied. Of a finer type, but still cognate, and most resembling the Tahennu, we have the Hanebu, as shown in a beautiful female face, the only one left, the Tuirsha the Takruu, and the Derdeni; or the Greeks, Etruscans, Tenkrians and Dardanians, the peoples of Italy, Greece, and western Asia Minor. These are distinct from the coarser features of the fair races of North Africa and the islands; but yet seem to bear some relationship to them.

From the Dardanians, the most Asiatic-looking of this group, the step to the Amorites is almost imperceptible. We now know from the paintings of the chief of Kadesh of the Amorites that he was of a white complexion, with light red brown hair and eyes; and other Amorites are painted of a pinkish flesh colour, quite distinct from the red of the Egyptians, the brown of the Hittites, or the yellow of the Maghrabis. Hence there can be little hesitation at classing the Amorites as a fair race cognate with those of the Ægean, and probably Aryan.

A very different type is seen in their neighbours the dark, skinny, sharp-nosed, scanty-bearded Shasu or Arabs; but a half-breed race seems to have inhabited the border-land, as the men of Askalon are intermediate in type.

The typical Syrian is more akin to the Semite Arab than to the intrusive Amorite. But a striking point is the resemblance of the Judaean captives of Shishak to the Amorite race, with some Semitic mixture. That no entirely fresh type had stamped itself on the inhabitants of Palestine by the Israelite immigration seems clear; and this is in accordance with the frequent allusions to the inhabitants of the land being left in possession of the upland districts, even at the first rush of Hebrew conquest, and intermingling with the Israelites in later times.

There is a large quantity of faces of the North Syrian peoples; but the most important of them historically, at present, are some heads on the west side of the temple at Luxor, in the campaign against the Khita and

Naharaina people: two of these heads in particular are the exact parallels of the well-known Hyksos sphinxes in every detail of the face: the slight eyebrow, the sub-aquiline nose, regaining the line of the forehead in its lower half: the thick end of the nose, the very peculiar slope of the under side of it: the size and form of the lips, firm and solid, without any negroid fullness; the angle of the beard, the angle of the eye, the high cheek bones, the breadth of the face, the enormously bushy hair; every one of these distinctive features are peculiarly alike in the Syrian and the Hyksos. And though these Syrian people are represented after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, it seems not improbable that we have here the type of the original race of the Hyksos in Northern Syria. That the Hyksos were pushed down out of Syria into Egypt by the Hittite invasion of the Northern regions, on descending from Cappadocia, seems not improbable.

The Hittites are a wholly different people to many others, and apparently Mongolian. The influence of their race may be easily seen in one branch of the Rutennu, who seem to be nearly pure Hittites. Their relation to the Amorites seems to have been that of a military confederacy or suzerainty, garrisons and settlements of the Hittites occurring intermixed with the Amorites, while the races were wholly dissimilar.

The various Southern races, both of high type and negroid, are well shown in the paintings of the tomb of Hui, which have been photographed. Some chiefs of the negro races are also shown on the façade of royal captives at Medinet Habu.

What is now much wanted is a photographic expedition in Syria, to take groups of the natives in the remoter mountainous districts, so as to thoroughly compare the modern races with those of the Egyptian conquests.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

OUR friend and collaborateur, Dr. Fritz Hommel, Professor of the languages of Islam at the University of Munich, has contributed to the huge *Handbuch der Klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft* of Iwan Müller vol. III, part I, pp. 1-98, an *Abriss der Geschichte des alten Orients bis auf die Zeit der Perserkriege*. This epitome, compiled with all the science and accuracy of its author, is looked upon as an introduction to Greek history, and therefore is of double interest as an invasion of the results of cuneiform research into the curriculum of classical Antiquities. Mr. Salomon Reinach (*Revue Critique*, 16 Avril, 1888) states it to be one of the most interesting chapters of the *Handbuch*. T. de L.

THE CONE-FRUIT OF THE ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS.

IN the Assyrian sculptures of the Nimroud Gallery, British Museum, there are certain figures presenting a cone-shaped something, covered with knobs. I am informed that Assyriologists look upon these cones as fir-cones, although the cuneiform inscriptions as yet have not thrown much light on this particular point. Certain hymns are said to mention the fir-cone, and that it was given to sick persons under the belief that inside it was impressed God's name.

It is possible, however, that, in spite of the fir-cone being alluded to in the hymns, the cone-fruit presented by these figures may after all not be a *fir-cone*, but a totally different fruit.

Before discussing this point, it may perhaps be of interest to take a brief survey of the several trees represented on the sculptures.

In pls. 14 and 15 of Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, vine trees are very clearly shown, with their characteristic leaves and bunches of berries. This tree was evidently well known in Assyria.

Alph. De Candolle—*Origin of Cultivated Plants*, says that "the most trustworthy botanists do not hesitate to say that the vine is wild and indigenous in the Trans-Caucasian provinces." From this region the vine could have been easily extended to Assyria and Persia in very ancient times.

Another kind of fruit tree appears in Layard's pl. 20, and others. Its fruit is conical like the fig, and some of the trees have the characteristic foliage of the fig-tree. With regard to this, De Candolle says: "the tree grows wild, or nearly wild over a vast region, of which Syria is about the centre, and extends eastwards as far as east Persia, and even Afghanistan," so that the fig tree must have been known to the Assyrians perhaps even earlier than the vine.

A third tree is always represented in these monuments in the same fashion, namely, a trunk with several branches, clothed in all their length with small leaves. In Layard's pls. 14 and 15, this same tree is represented with fruits like pomegranates, and these trees are often placed on stony hills. The pomegranate tree has small leaves, which cover the whole length of the branches, and are such as might be rudely represented by the sculptured trees in question. Stone, however, is not a

material in which small foliage can be readily represented, and therefore in many cases the leaves are shown out of all proportion to the size of the branches. With regard to the pomegranate, Alph. De Candolle in the foregoing work, says: "it grows wild in stony ground in Persia, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, and Beluchistan." From the frequency with which this shaped tree is given, there can be little doubt that in Assyrian days there must have been forests of it on stony hills, and probably the wild pomegranate was used mainly for firewood, and tanning purposes. As some of the trees of this shape in the monuments, have the characteristic pomegranate fruit on them, it is reasonable to infer that all similarly-shaped trees were intended for pomegranate trees.

A fourth tree is the date-palm, everywhere represented in the same way, with a straight rough stem, terminating in a plumose head of foliage, pendant bunches of fruit, and in some instances, as in Layard's, pls. 26 and 41—with offsets at the foot of the stem. This tree is unmistakeable, and must have been, at one time, plentiful in Babylonia and Assyria.

A fifth tree is some sort of fir—also represented in forests on hilly ground. It has the lower part of the stem bare; then come symmetrical branches, clothed with fine leaves, and disposed in the fashion of a candelabrum, and finally, there are the terminal leaf buds, of the straight stem and branches, disposed all round the points. All these characters agree exactly with those of fir trees, and there can hardly be any doubt that in those days some of the mountains were covered with fir forests of some kind.

One thing, however, is worth noting. In no instance is any of these fir trees shown with cones on it. If fir cones were produced in Assyria of anything like the size of those held by the figures in the hand, or like those in Layard's pl. 9, *three of which fill a basket*, it is reasonable to suppose that they would have been represented on some of the trees, as in the case of the pomegranates. The cones would require to be of the size and shape similar to that of the stone pine of Italy—*Pinus Pinea*. Therefore the inference would be probably that the Assyrian firs produced fruit of a small kind. It is true that the cedar has a largish cone, but its exterior is not knobby, like that of the stone pine, and would be more readily and easily represented by lines.

A sixth tree is shown on No. 6 B in the Nimroud Gallery. There are three trees on hilly and stony ground—viz, a palm tree with leaves represented rather differently from the usual, and two other trees with out foliage. They have a central stem and two side branches, all three

ending in smaller leafless branches. It is not improbable that these two may have been intended to represent some sort of tree-Euphorbia.

Of course what is called the sacred-tree is a compound of the most useful trees—namely a conventional date palm with an ornamental stem, ending in the plumose head of that tree, then turning round it in festoons is probably the vine tree, the angles between the festoons being ornamented with small plumose heads of the date tree. From their having combined these two trees in a conventional sacred tree, it would appear that they were looked upon as furnishing the food and the drink of the people, and therefore of very ancient origin in Assyria. Curiously enough, in one of Layard's plates the sacred tree is shown with the introduction of a *third* fruit. Besides the date tree, and the vine, the angles of the festoons are ornamental with cone-fruits. This perhaps would indicate that the cone fruit was of later introduction in Assyria than the Date tree and Vine and therefore a later conception. If the fir cone had been so sacred, the probability is that so ancient a fruit would *always* have formed an element in the composition of the sacred tree.

Then, if not a fir cone, what can that possibly be, which the said figures are holding in the hand? The only other fruit, which would come near that shape, and surface, is a citron. The accompanying outline (A) is $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size, and of a citron; with a warty surface, which I met with in Ceylon. It would just fit the case in point, more especially as No. 2 and 39 of the Nimroud Gallery show the cone fruit, with a distinct mamilla, or apex, with a slight depression on each side of it, as shown at *a* and *b*.



(A). Outline of a citron of Ceylon, fourth of natural size (girth 12 inches at thickest part), and taken from nature.

←— Mamilla with slight depression on each side (*a* and *b*) as in some of the cone-fruits of the monuments.

The question, however, naturally arises—what evidence can be adduced of there having been citrons in those days in Assyria?

I shall in the following, endeavour to show that the citron must have been known in Persia in very ancient times, and probably long before our era.

(a) Galesio, who wrote in 1811 "Traité du Citrus" explored the history of all the orange and citron tribe known in Europe up to that time, with great patience and thoroughness. In p. 198 he says: "that this plant was known to the Greeks and Romans. Theophrastus—after the death of Alexander—gives a very accurate description of the Persian and Median apple, which corresponds with that of the citron. The fruit was not eaten, but used for various other purposes. It was grown from seed, and fruited all the year round. He also mentions what may be taken as male and bisexual flowers, which the citron has. It was common in Persia and Media. It was Pliny who commenced to call it by different names—*Malus Medica*, *Malus Assyria*, and *Citrus*." Galesio also mentions that "it was brought from Persia to Rome. For about two centuries, the Romans only used it for medicinal and other purposes. They tried to raise it from seed, but owing probably to the coldness of their winter season, they failed to do so."

Alph. De Candolle, quoting from Targioni's 'Cenni Storici,' says "the citron, after many attempts, was cultivated in Italy in the third or fourth century, and adds that Palladius, in the fifth century, speaks of it as well established." Its modern botanical name is *Citrus Medica*. The citron is the *only* species of this tribe which has so ancient a history in Europe, and all evidence points to the citron having reached Europe from Media or Persia very early in our era, and the great probability is that in Europe, owing to the trade between this Continent and Phœnicia, they were aware long before this period that the citron existed in Syria and east of it, as "Dioscorides, who was born in Cilicia, wrote of it in the first century almost in the same terms as Theophrastus" (De Candolle, op. cit.)

(b) The modern Jews, in the feast of the Tabernacles, "present themselves at the synagogue with a citron in their hand" (De Candolle, op. cit., p. 181.). Galesio calls the typical variety of citron "citronnier des Juifs"—*Citrus Medica* of Targioni. He says "the tree bears few fruits, of a large oblong shape; flowers almost continually, and mainly in winter. The autumn and winter fruit is sold for canying; that of the summer is bought by the Jews, who use it in August, in the Feast of the Tabernacles."

If the presentation of the citron carried in the hand at this feast by

modern Jews be only a coincidence, it must be confessed that the coincidence of something like a similar ceremony in the Assyrian monuments is a *very striking* one indeed. There is evidence, however, that this custom among the Jews is a very old one; moreover the orthodox Jews, who have not even changed their physiognomy, are not likely to have made any changes in their religious ceremonials.

In p. 208 Galesio says that, "cultivated in Cilicia, the citron probably spread to Palestine, close by, and we have seen that from the time the Jews knew it, they made use of it in the Feast of the Tabernacles; we also see by the Samaritan medals, recorded by Otius, that this usage was a very ancient one. Although Josephus calls it *Persian apple*, it was probably cultivated in Palestine in his time, as, even when cultivated in Italy, it was still called by that name." Galesio goes on to say: "Moreover Josephus, in book 13, says that the Jews, having revolted against their king, Alexander, when he was at the foot of the altar, to celebrate the Feast of the Tabernacles, they threw citrons in his face; and in speaking of the Jewish custom in this solemnity, he remarks that they attached citrons to palm leaves, and that they used to bring branches of citron trees, which seems to indicate that the tree was grown there."

It is, therefore, not improbable that the Jews got the notion of using the citron in their religious ceremonies from the Babylonians. De Candolle (p. 181) says: "As the Greeks had seen the citron in Media and in Persia in the time of Theophrastus *three centuries* B.C., it would be strange if the Hebrews had not become acquainted with it at the time of the Babylonish captivity."

E. BONAVIA.

(To be concluded).

GIFTS TO A BABYLONIAN BÎT-ÎLI OR BETHEL.

THE text reproduced herewith is inscribed on a very carefully-formed tablet of baked clay, of a light yellow-ochre colour, and measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high. The characters are large and very beautifully written, in the usual late-Babylonian style, and present but few peculiarities. The text itself is a list of amounts given by certain people to a temple, probably at Babylon, called the Bît-îli or Bêt-îli (= Heb. Bethel), "House of God." The following are a transliteration and a translation of the text of the tablet, which, from its nature, is naturally of more than passing interest.

Šakin-šumi a-na bêt ili it-ta-din.

18 êšrâ-êštin ma-ši-ĥu dir-ti it-ta-din.

TRANSLATION.

765 measures of grain

of Bit - ili, which Šakin - šumi for dues

3 from the hands of Nergal - iûdin has taken.

The grain which Šakin - šumi for Bit - ili has received :—

150 measures which is the sum in the hands of Nergal-iddin.
the governor ;

84 measures in the hands of Ikišâ. the planter ;

67 do. in the hands of Zariĥu - êreš ;

9 90 do. in the hands of Nabû-bêl-ilâni,
son of Mukallim ;

225 measures in the hands of Bêl-šum-iškun,

12 son of Gambâ ;

80 do. in the hands of Ae-êreš, the planter ;

90 do. in the hands of Ae-ereš




15 and Nergal-edir, the two planters (by) the gate :





Altogether 786 measures

Šakin-šumi to Bit-ili has given.



18 21 measures less he has given.


NOTES.

1. The sign for 60 is here written , which, if decomposed, will be found to consist of the single wedge , followed by the phonetic complement , *šu*, the complete word being *šuššu*, a soss, Gr. *σῶσσοσ*.




Before the word *mašihû*, "measure" (singular used for plural), is the determinative prefix denoting a pot ( = Assyr. ). This character is a compound, being formed of the sign for "a vessel," , *ga*, with the character for "water" , *a*, within. The archaic form of the character *ga* shows an ancient Oriental pot of a not uncommon shape, with a pointed base.

2. *Ĥubututtu*. This word is an abstract noun, from the root *ĥabātu*, "to acquire property" (*ĥabutu*). The verbal root, in the frequentative voices, means "to plunder."

4. The character , *um*, at the end of the line, is of uncommon form: it is generally written .

8, 9, &c. The transcription of *šumu* for  is provisional. See my remarks upon the word, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for Jan. 8, 1884, p. 57 (note).

12. *Gambâ*. The reading of this name is doubtful—it may be read also *Lišbâ* or *Lišmâ*. *Gambâ* is, however, probably the more likely reading.

13 & 14. The divine name   , *A-e*, in both these lines, in the name *Ae-êreš*, is very interesting, as it is apparently another form of

→𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶, *Ê-a* (also read *Hei*)—indeed, it is possible that, however the group might be written, it was always pronounced *Æe*, not *Êa*. *Æe*, the consort of *Dankina* or *Dauke*, must therefore be identified with the *Λos* of *Damascius* (see Fried. Delitzsch in Mürdter's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 276)

15. In this line the scribe had apparently left out the character 𐎶𐎶, which he has inserted on the edge of the tablet.

16. Here the scribe has written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *marûhu*, and not 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵, *masîhu*. Is *marûhu* a synonym of *masîhu*, "measure," or has the character 𐎶𐎵, *ru*, also the value of *si*? The clearness and carefulness of the writing militate against the idea that the scribe has made a blunder, which, however, is not impossible.

18. The word 𐎶𐎶𐎶 from the connection in which it stands, must mean something like "deficiency." The most probable reading is *dirti*. That this deficiency was a recognized thing is implied by the introductory lines, which give the total of the amounts collected. The summation of the whole is quite correct, and shows the care with which the accounts of the temples were kept.

In studying a text of this kind, which records offerings paid or given to the "house of God," the question naturally arises: Was polytheism the original creed and form of worship of the Mesopotamian Semites? It is to be noted, in considering this question, that the names of most of their deities are Akkadian, and not Semitic.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

JAREB.

MR. LYNN'S conjecture that *Jareb* was the name of "the whole or some important part" of Assyria is very ingenious, but Assyriologists will tell him that such cannot be the case. No such name is known in the cuneiform geographical lists.

He has misunderstood my statement about the want of an article before the word *melech*, "king," and I must therefore explain a little more fully what I referred to. It is a well-known rule of Hebrew syntax that the article is used with a noun placed in apposition to another when the object is regarded as "one already known"; hence we have the formulæ דוד המלך, המלך שלמה, instead of the more original דוד המלך, שלמה המלך. When this is not the case, the article is not expressed, as in נערה בתולה (1 Kings i. 1), דברים נהמים (Zech. i. 13), זבחים שלמים (Ex. xxiv. 5). Consequently we have הירדן "the Jordan" on the one side, but פרת "the Euphrates" on the other, I need hardly observe that the omission of the article before מלך would not show that the proper name following was the name of a country, as Mr. Lynn appears to think: e. g. המלך אשר with the article means

“the king of Assyria” in Is. xxxvi. 16: while conversely in poetry the article may be omitted even where the noun is used in a definite sense, as in **מֶלֶךְ**, “the king” (Ps. xxi. 2). In short, in such cases the use of the article depends upon whether or not the object referred to is supposed to be known. Hence, as I have said, the translators of the Authorized Version, like the translators of the Septuagint before them, were guided by a correct grammatical instinct in making Jareb a proper name. I shall not be divulging any secrets if I add that the rendering of the Authorized Version was unanimously left by the Revisers of the Old Testament after a very full discussion.

A. H. SAYCE.

LETTER FROM EGYPT.

IN Mr. Petrie's new work 'A season in Egypt' some excellent remarks are made about the so-called standard name of the kings which he shews to be the name of the *ka* written over a false door. In the accompanying texts the *ka*, is said to be the life of the king presiding over the *debt*. The false door evidently has reference to the *debt* which may be translated sarcophagus, or possibly in this case in a less definite way 'the *ka*-chamber:' the name and false door are surmounted by a hawk wearing the *pehut*. These symbols entered into the title of the king as may be seen in any text where the full titles of a king are written horizontally. They are the emblems of Ra as sovereign of upper and lower Egypt.

In cosmogony Ptah was the father of the gods, but without the sun the Egyptian could expect little order or life in the universe. Thus although in the lists Ptah appears as first king of Egypt it was with Ra the sun that the mythical *history* of Egypt began. Ra became the type of all later kings. From a mythological and religious point of view the king claimed the throne entirely as successor of Ra. All the official titles of the king are connected with the mythology of this god. This is more clearly shown than ever by the text published by Mr. Flinders Petrie where the king's *ka* or essence is described as proceeding from the temple of Heliopolis (the palace of Ra).

The royal myth, the myth of the god-kings is that to which the human monarchs looked for an explanation of their claim to the throne, therefore centred at Heliopolis. The titles of the earliest kings that

we know have reference to it; but taken as it stands it is incompatible with the local myths of other great cities in Egypt. It follows that the priest of Heliopolis must have held an extraordinary ascendancy previous to and during the early days of Egyptian monarchy, in order to impress so firmly these doctrines upon a people amongst whom existed such a diversity of cults.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

Cairo, 18th April, 1888.

REVIEWS.

DIE ÄLTESTE ARABISCHE BARLAAM-VERSION : VON Fritz Hommel.

Wien, 1887.

IN this monograph Professor Hommel has rendered a service, not only to students of Arabic literature, but also to those who are concerned either as mythologists, or even as general readers with fables and their migration. Of these instances of migration certainly one of the most picturesque and curious is the story of Barlaam and Josaphat. At one point in its long career from East to West the legend of Buddha, nearly in the form in which we now have it in the *Lalita Vistara*, has been set in a framework of Christian mythology and dogmatic. A union so strange has not been without its appropriate consequences. Brought about—as it was long supposed—by an orthodox hymnologist and father of the Church, it had issue in the sanctification of Buddha!

The text—unfortunately a fragment—which Professor Hommel has edited with praiseworthy exactness may be said to mark the third stage in the career of the Buddha legend. Founded directly upon the Pehlevi, it belongs to the same period and to the same class of Arabic literature as the version—in all probability only slightly different—from which the Christian compiler of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat must have drawn the narrative portion of his material. For historical purposes, therefore, it far exceeds in value both the latter and its Arabic rendering (also, it seems, made by a Christian), with which we are familiar in Zotenberg's extracts.

One of the most important of the results which flow directly from the data furnished by Professor Hommel is the changed position in the line of descent or migration which we must now ascribe to Ibn Ḥasdai. For the detailed comparison made on pages 14—21 between the earliest Arabic version, as we now have it, the and **בן המלך והנזיר** of the Spanish Jew places the dependence of the latter upon the former beyond a doubt. And this relation once established has enabled Professor Hommel to restore the original title of his Arabic version. The MS. is described as an 'extract from the book of one of the distinguished sages of India'; but that the real title of the work was **كتاب ابن الملك والناسك** is an obvious deduction from the words of Ibn Ḥasdai's preface to his own compilation.

We shall look forward to the results promised us from the continuance of the author's labours, as well as from the efforts of the pupil whom he has enlisted on the same side: and, for the present, we welcome a contribution, as important as it is unpretending, to the literature of a fascinating subject.

S. ARTHUR STRONG.

RUDOLPH E. BRÜNNOW: A Classified List of all simple and compound Cuneiform Ideographs occurring in the Texts hitherto published, with their Assyro-Babylonian equivalents, phonetic values, etc. Part I. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1887. 200 autogr. pp. 4s.

It is quite certain that every Assyriologist will welcome the above work as a step in the right direction. The published Assyrian literature has become so extended, that the labour of compiling a list of ideographs must be too great for each student. There has also been a great lack of books that would be useful to beginners and to Semitic scholars who have not the time and opportunity to devote special attention to Assyrian. Dr. Brünnow has done his work in so thorough and exact a manner that the expressed purpose of the author "to furnish students with a convenient and trustworthy book of reference, which would save them the labour of compiling a sign-list for themselves" has been attained. The time of Assyriologists has already been sufficiently taken up with speculations about "dialects" and with long discussions, which when written, have been of little use in advancing our knowledge of Assyrian. It is refreshing, therefore, to receive a work which will do much towards enabling us to correct and modify our opinions upon many points of Semitic philology. With a few more such works as this and a very diligent use of them Akkadists might be able to read a text with some satisfaction—a thing that is so sadly needed at present.

The part that has appeared contains about one-third of the whole, and when complete, will be one of the largest and most important works in the library of the Assyriologist.

There are, of course, some errors in the work, but so far as the writer has observed, they are of such a nature that they will cause the student little trouble. As far as the general plan of the work is concerned, two things are to be regretted. First, it would have improved the work very much if the author had collated some badly-published texts, the mistakes of which he has, of course, perpetuated. Second, there are a number of unpublished texts, which would have added much to the value of the work if they had been used. The publication of new texts is so important that it is to be regretted that this masterpiece of diligence and carefulness has not also contributed something to our knowledge of the Assyro-Babylonian literature. But the author doubtless had good reasons for the plan he has pursued, and, for my part, I only wish him a speedy and successful completion of the work, and bespeak for him beforehand the gratitude of all students of Assyrian.

S. ALDEN SMITH.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.



Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE TREE OF LIFE AND THE CALENDAR PLANT OF BABYLONIA AND CHINA.

THE following notice is the description of No. 59 of the sixty items of civilization which I have enumerated‡ as those which have been carried from the West of the Hindu Kush and the vicinity of Elam, about 2250 B.C. and afterwards, by the migratory Bak tribes and other tribes, to the N.W. of Flowery land, otherwise China.

Besides the important and serious facts which have proved to demonstration so many loans of civilization, there are some traditions, more or less wrapped in fable, which are worthy of being studied. Though written on the margin of history, they disclose characteristics which show them to be valuable similarities and proofs of borrowings, as their prototypes can be found in the same cradle as the others. The individual value of such smaller items is slight should they be isolated, but their importance and value are singularly enhanced when looked upon as a part of a long chain of evidence.

*


The conventional character of the representations of sacred trees on the Assyro-Babylonian monuments is a well-known fact—so much so that their various species at the beginning are still ill-ascertained.¹ The traditional distinction of the Tree of Life and of the Tree of Knowledge is not as yet ascertained by the Assyriologists, even in the oldest monuments.² Prof. Fritz Hommel has fairly shown that the *giškin* of Eridu (now Abusharein) or the *Kin* tree was the palm-tree.³ It had become mythological in a bilingual hymn which has been translated several times; but the sort of tree indicated by this expression had been variously understood. Let us remark, by the way, that the use of a single sign⁴  (Assyr. ) to denote it is in accordance with the probability that the writing was received from a southern clime where

‡ *Babylonia and China* (London, Nutt, 1837) reprinted from the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* of June 1887; and in my work on *The Languages of China before the Chinese* (London, Nutt, 1887) § 192.

palm-trees grew, and therefore not from a northern region.⁵ The oldest cylinders where the sacred tree is represented justify the conclusion that it was a palm-tree.⁶ There are a few big leaves, four on one side and three on the other, and at no distance from the top of the tree; under the leaves are two big fruits, which seem to be clusters of bananas,^{6b} but may have been simply intended to represent clusters of dates, as the date-palm is the tree *par excellence* of Babylonia. A sort of conventionalism about the branches or leaves is already visible in these figures of the tree which we have roughly described, and which are represented on cylinders from Erech. But we do not know if their somewhat conventional form is the result of a forgetful antiquity or of a rudeness of art. The latter is the least improbable of the two views.

The conventional form became gradually more decided, though the perfection of art permits us to recognize that the species of trees became varied. The fruits were arranged in several ways, according to the sort of trees. But the characteristic to which it is my purpose to call the attention of my readers is the limited number of their branches. In some instances there are twelve, six on each side, but this number does not occur often; seven, fourteen, or fifteen if we include the top of the tree, and thirty are the usual numbers. In case of the latter larger number, as if no room was available for so many branches, 23 are represented on the two sides and top, while the complementary seven formed another row at the inside top.

Now the connection of these numbers of seven, fifteen, and thirty with those of the week, and of the lunar wax and wane is so obvious, that it is difficult not to believe it to have been intentional.

How and when it began is as yet difficult to say; but the fact is manifest, though no indication of its symbolism seems to have been discovered in the Assyrian texts hitherto deciphered, so far as the present writer is aware, unless we could find some allusion to it in one of the Assyrian meanings of the aforesaid name 𒌶 𒌷𒍪. These meanings are especially those of 'tree,' 'plant,' and *usurat*, 'limit.'⁷ The linear form  of the sign 𒌷𒍪⁸ confirms the latter translation in its sense of something limited or confined, and we need not trouble ourselves as to what the original picture may have represented. Now this meaning of limited or confined agrees pretty well with a possible connection with a regular number of days, and it is not, perhaps, too bold an inference that at a certain time of its symbolical history such a sign should have been understood in that sense with reference to the regular conventionalism of

the pictures representing the sacred tree of which it was the appellative, written and spoken. The allegorical meaning once understood and transmitted in that way would necessarily have helped the artists in their conventional designs of the trees.

There are reasons to believe that such happened to be the case at a certain time, as shown by the following instance of one of the three scores of items of Babylonian civilization carried, by the migratory Bak tribes, who from the west of the Hindu-Kush and the vicinity of Elam migrated eastwards to the N.W. borders of China.

* *

The tradition, which we have to report here, refers to the reign of Yao, circa 2100 B.C., the first of the Chinese rulers referred to in the truncated *Shu-King*. It is not recorded in this work from which all the marvellous and that which could not be utilised for the praise and blame system of the moral philosophy of Confucius has been carefully pruned off. We find it in a more ingenious and therefore more truthful resumé of ancient traditions, the *Tchuh shu ki nien* or annals of the Bamboo books, dating from the fourth century before the Christian era.⁹ There are even some probabilities that the early part of the annals, which is here of interest to us, dates from the eighth century B.C.

When the Emperor Yao had been on the throne seventy years¹⁰, a kind of plant grew on each side¹¹ of the palace stairs. On the first day of the month¹² it grew a pod, and so on, every day a pod, to the last day of the month: and if the month was a short one (of 29 days), one pod shrivelled up, without falling.

It was called the calendar plant 歷莢 *lik kiep*; and also the 明莢 *ming kiep* or *mik-kiep*, a name of which the exact meaning is not well ascertained, though it implies a plant-tree bearing big fruits.¹³ It is simply described as "a felicitous plant,¹⁴ an expression which suggests its mythological character,¹⁵ and does away with the possibility of determining its botanical nature.

The parallelism of this legend with the conventional representations of the sacred trees of Babylonia, those of the tree of life among others, is too complete in its decisive denomination and description of the calendar plant of the Chinese tradition to receive any other explanation than that of a borrowing. And all the circumstances of the case show it to have been a loan of ancient west to early east.

* * *

The Chinese mind is deeply impressed with the necessary repetition of

events, regularity of numbers and categories, alliteration in words, occurrence over and again of the same ideas and facts, &c. otherwise of a necessary reiteration in everything, and such a tradition could not fail to suggest imitations or similar cases.

For instance, the Chinese fancy something of the kind with the 栲桐 *Wu tung*,¹⁶ the *Elaeococca verrucosa* of the botanists, which is now the national tree of China, and grows over the central provinces.¹⁷ They say that from it the months of the year may be known; it is supposed to bear annually twelve leaves, six on each side, one leaf for every month; but during the intercalary year it puts forth thirteen leaves, when at the time of mid-autumn one leaf falls off.¹⁸

The beautifying and magnifying style of Lieh-tze, the curious writer of the Vth century B.C., of whom I have spoken in another paper, makes use of the same word *Ming* as in *Ming-kiép*, the calendar plant. It is with reference to a marvellous tree which was said to grow in the south of the *King* country, a region corresponding to southern Hunan, and still unknown at the time of the writer. He was speaking, therefore, from mere hearsay, which apparently only reached him after passing from mouth to mouth, each one more or less deceptive. The vagueness of the information about the plant and the general unacquaintedness of the country permitted him to draw on his extensive love of fabulous traditions to embellish his descriptions.

Hence we cannot be surprised that he should have spoken of the *Ming-ling* 莫靈¹⁹ as a supernatural plant-tree which required five hundred years to bloom and eight thousand years to produce fruit.²⁰

Now 8000 is the multiple of 500 by sixteen, and the latter is the number of the day when a change occurred in the *Ming-kiép*, the calendar plant of Yao. This shows how the influence of the former fable was worked out in the new.

* * * *

Legendary accounts of sacred trees were current among the Chinese of early times, and were part of the stock of ideas, institutions, and arts imported from S.W. Asia. In the previous sections of this paper we have chiefly spoken of the sacred trees so far as they had a conventional appearance which could suggest, and as a fact did suggest a calendar symbolism. Now we shall call the attention of our readers to marvellous reports of another kind which contain some different survivals of similar legends.

They are found in the oldest works still existing on subjects congenial to them, and from which we have already made several extracts.²¹ All the other works (and very few they are) of older times, which have escaped

the wreck of ancient literature in China deal with subjects which did not permit their authors to introduce therein legendary traditions of this kind; and there is no doubt that, if such very old works were still in existence, we should find these traditions in them probably less beautiful and less magnified, but more faithful to their primitive character and less suffused with Indian and heterogeneous ideas. Lieh-tze, who was flourishing about 400 B.C., Hwai-nan-tze, and Szema Siang-ju, of the second century B.C.²² are the principal writers who have embodied many of the old legends and fabulous reports in their allegoric rhapsodies and romantic accounts. They are chiefly arranged with reference to *Si-Wang-Mu*, the Western Queen-mother and her residence in the Kuenlun range. This interesting personage of Chinese fable,²³ once stripped of all its mythological adornments and marvellous character, turns out simply to be the impersonation of the successive female rulers in the north-east of Tibet, of tribes where matriarchate and gynecoeracy were the rule.²⁴ In the course of their history the Chinese have had some relations with several of such tribes.²⁵ But their first connection with one of these female rulers dates from the very beginning, when the Bak tribes were advancing along the Kuenlun range towards N.W. China, in the twenty-third century B.C., as shown by their oldest records, where we see that these curious institutions were not without effect on the paternity of their first rulers.²⁶

We can easily understand how they were struck by these peculiarities, so much the more that they were acquainted with the legend of Sargon, who himself had no paternal ancestry.²⁷

It is in the descriptions of the Elysian residence of Si Wang Mu in the Kuenlun that the sacred trees are mentioned. There are seven of them. Four on the west: the tree of pearls, *tchu shu*,²⁸ the tree of jade, *yü thu*,²⁹ the gemmy tree, *siüen shu*,³⁰ and the tree of immortality, *puk sé shu*.³¹ One on the south, the red tree, *K'iang shu*³²; and on the north the green-jade tree, *pik shu*,³³ and the green jasper tree, *yao shu*.³⁴

The tree of immortality, *puk sé shu*, is also called the *K'iang*³⁵ tree, and is fully described as composed of the finest sort of jade, red or white; its blossom, if eaten, conferred the gift of immortality.³⁶

The characteristic of all these seven trees³⁷ (the number of the week) is their connection with the jade in the various sorts of which six of them were made. And so they were in this mythological account, because jade was the most precious and highest-valued stone with which the Chinese became acquainted in olden times. The special symbol for it is 玉 ancient sound *ok*,³⁸ which in its concrete sense is 'jade',³⁹ but in its

general acceptance is 'precious, as a gem, beautiful'; and it is in the latter meaning that it is generally used in ancient books.⁴⁹

Now let us return to the liturgical hymns of Babylonia which we have already referred to, and let us examine the description given therein of the tree of the sacred garden of Êa :⁴¹

(In) Eridu a *Kin* tree grew overshadowing; in a holy place did it become green;
its root was of *uknú* stone, which stretched towards the deep;⁴²

We have already referred to the *Kin* tree, and need not speak of it again. The interesting point is this *uknú* stone, which seems to be a valuable gem of some sort, precious enough for the poet to have imagined it in connection with the sacred tree. The fabulous description is, without doubt the prototype of that which was magnified in the legendary and mythical account of the Elysian garden of Si Wang Mu, we have quoted above.

What the $\Upsilon\Upsilon$ 𒌦 *zagin* stone, Assyrian *uknú*,⁴³ was, has been for long doubtful, and is perhaps not as yet well ascertained. As it is written with a complex ideogram it has not been necessarily known to the creators of the writing; and the proper meaning of the expression being shining and whitish⁴⁴ is sufficiently vague to permit its adaptation to many stones; marble, alabaster, jasper, onyx, hyacinth, &c., have been proposed and at present 'white crystal' is the meaning current among the Assyriologists.

Anyhow a great importance was given to that stone in ancient Babylonian times and it must have been very precious and difficult to get.

The staff of Marduk to touch sick people was adorned with an *Uknú* stone.⁴⁵ It was a jewel of Ishtar. In some mythological descriptions, the god holds in his hand a mountain of alabaster, lapis and *uknú*, and his offensive weapon is made of gold and *uknú*.⁴⁶ In the Izdhubar legend of the Flood, it is spoken of as a charm round the neck.⁴⁷

The finest sort of *uknú* was the *uknú sadí*,⁴⁸ the *uknú* of the East and it was brought from the Bikni country, at the extreme east of Media near the Caspian, and mentioned in the cylinder of Esarhaddon.⁴⁹ It is also mentioned with reference to a country of Dapara, the identification of which is still unascertained.⁵⁰

* * * * *




In placing together these fragments of marvellous legends, we have been enabled to see in them as many echoes of a tradition primeval for the Chinese, and connected with the celebrated tree of life and other sacred

trees of ancient Babylonia, as well as with the sacred mountains of Sumero - Akkadian legends. Such being the case, they receive an explanation which is not devoid of interest for history. Though the calendar character of the sacred plant *Ming Kiep* does not seem to be more deeply rooted in Chinese traditions than than we may have expected to be the case from its fabulous appearance, it is certainly very old. It may consequently be the illustration or imagery, of the ancient value attributed to the marvellous plant, if not in its earliest symbolism complete or in part, at least in the interpretation or adaptation given to it in the quarters from which the civilisers of the Chinese have received it.


TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

NOTES.


1) On the sacred trees, cf. W. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitische Religionsgeschichte*, vol. II, p. 190-225: François Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, p. 75-90.

2) In the early ideographic spelling of *Sumer* some traces may perhaps be found of a state of things connected with the idea of sacred trees. The name was written  *Ki-en-gi* as proved by the inscriptions of all the ancient kings of Chaldea and Babylonia. Cf. A. Amiaud in *Bab. & Orient. Record*, vol. I, 122). Now *Ki* is country, *en* is lord, and *gi* is said to be "a tree" or "a reed" which its primitive form is said to have-represented. The figure indicated by the earliest forms of the signs on Ur-Ba-u and Urn-Kagina texts (cf. Amiaud & Mechineau, *Tableau*, No. 267) is more like .. tree  and even a palm-tree, while the slanting stroke on stem under the leaves seems intended to represent the two big fruits like clusters of dates which appear on the illustrations of the sacred tree on the oldest cylinders, such as those of Erech. (Cf. Ménant, *Glyptique*, I, pl. iii, fig. 5, and also p. 191). Therefore *Ki-en-gi*, the meaning of which seems to have been early lost, would have been originally the country of the sacred tree, or of the divine palm-tree. Should the original and pictorial position of the character have been the reverse, i.e., the left to the top  as Mr. Pinches thinks, instead of the right to top, as I think (with Prof. A. H. Sayce and the Rev. W. Houghton, (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, VI, 473), the meaning would be different only as to the sort of plant.

3) *Die Semitischen Völker*, 1883, vol I, pp. 306, 488.

4) *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, IV, 15 v., l. 62-64, François Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire*, 1882, II, 104, has translated the two characters  KIZ KIN, by a "pine tree." Prof. A. H. Sayce, in his *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, translates them uncompromisingly by "a stalk" which is certainly not sufficient. But we must remark that both Lenormant and himself were fettered in their translation by the view that the signs of writing had been invented in a northern land.

5) As another proof I may remark that the cedar tree, which was also

a sacred tree when a northern influence became prominent, was transcribed by a complex ideogram of two characters (𐎶𐎶) , translated in Assyrian *erin*. The ideographic values of these symbols seem to suggest that a comparison was made between the minute and numerous foliage of the cedar, and the appearance of the warp and woof. François Lenormant (*Les origines de l'histoire*, I, 84) has indicated several statements in *Cuneif. Inscript. of West. Asia* (vol. IV, pl. 16, 2 pl. 29, 1) where the cedar tree and its fruit are especially sacred; and he quotes also a fragment then unpublished relating a prescription of Éa to Marduk: "Prends le fruit du cèdre, et présente le à la face du malade; le cèdre est l'arbre qui donne le charme pur et repousse les demons ennemis, tendeurs de pieges." *Kirim erini liqi va—ana pî margi šukunšu—erinnu iğu nadin šipti ellitir—šavid rabīçi limnuti.*"

6) Cf. their pictures in J. Ménant, *Glyptique Orientale*, vol. I.

6b) With reference to this peculiarity, it will be curious to remark that the Banana or *Musa paradisiaca* (Linn.) has been so called from the popular tradition which made the banana figure in the story of Eve and the Paradise. On the Asiatic original home of that tree of A. de Candolle, *Origin of cultivated plants*, London, 1884, pp. 304-311.—The palm-trees, which seems to have been much more numerous in former times than at present, do not extend further north than the Sindjar, the Singali of the Kurds. On the banks of the Euphrates the last great agglomeration of them is that of Anah; at Tekrit, on the Tigris, are seen the two last date-palms. Cf. Eliséé Reclus, *Asie Antérieure*, p. 410; A de Candolle, *O. C.* p. 302; W. K. Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana* (London, 1857), p. 158.

7) Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, 221.—J. Halévy in *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril 1876, p. 350.—F. Lenormant, *Etudes Accadiennes*, II, 281.—J. Menant, *Grammaire Assyrienne*, No. 191.

8) Amiaud & Mechineau, *Tableau comparé des écritures Babylonienne et Assyrienne Archaïques et Modernes*, No. 194.

9) These Annals, which are concise as ephemerids, refer to the Central and successive dynasties until 770 B.C., and from that date to 377 B.C., it is the principality of Tsin (in Shansi) which is their chief object.

10) According to other sources, the event took place in the 45th year of Yao's reign. Cf. the *Kang Kien y tchi luk*: Medhurst, *Ancient China*, p. 330.

11) There were therefore two of these plant-trees.

12) Or Moon.

13) In the *Shroh Wen* (A. D. 89) the symbol *Kiep* is described as that for a plant bearing fruit. *Khang-hi Tze tien*, s.v. 140 + 7, f. 41 v.) The expression 蓂莢 *sik-mik* of the *Erh-ya* (500 B.C.) is explained in the *Nou tu fu* by Tchang Heng of the After Han dynasty (200 B.C.) as meaning 'yams and melons' (*K'ang-hi tze tien*, s.v. 140 + 10, f. 76 v.; Medhurst, *Chinese-English dictionary*, pp. 900, 913) though in the *Erh-ya* itself it is said to be a 大薺 *ta tsi*, i.e. a great *bursa pastoris*. (*Erh-ya-tchéng wen tchen yn*, ed. 1861, II, 20 : on this *tsi* cf. Medhurst, *O. C.*, p. 933). Dr. Wells Williams (*Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 803), describes also *sik-mik* as a *capsella*, but Dr. E. Bretschneider in his *Early European researches into the Flora of China*, (*J. North China*

Br. R. A. S. 1880, vol. XV, p. 137) does not give any Chinese character for this plant.

14) *Shuei tsao*, in the Tang-yun dictionary of 670-679 A.D.

15) Dr. Wells Williams suggests (*Syll. Dict.* p. 600) that it was perhaps a bulbous plant, whose leaves alternately sprouted and died. I do not think such an explanation is wanted.

16) On the *Tung* tree, cf. *K'ang hi t'e-tien*, s. v. 75+6, ff. 38-39.—Also R. K. Douglas, *The Calendar of the Hsia dynasty*, p. 36, and pl. viii, of *Orientalia Antiqua*, ed. T. de L. (London, 1882).—Also the *Li-ki*, yueh ling, part. III, 4.

17) Cf. C. Bretschneider, *Early European researches into the Flora of China*, loc. cit., pp. 34, 172, 185.—Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dict.* p. 934.

18) According to the *Tun kia shu*, an ancient Taoist work older than the VIth century; it is one of the 38 quotations of as many different works given about that tree in the *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 956, f. 4, v.

19) *Ming* has been already noticed. *Ling* is 'supernatural'; as an adjective, in the Chinese ideology, it ought to be placed before its noun. But as it is the reverse and agrees so far with the post-placing ideology of the Pre-Chinese languages of Southern China (cf. my work on *The languages of China before the Chinese* part IV; (London, 1887), the expression *Ming-ling* seems to be imitated from a similar name in one of the native languages.

20) Liehtze whose real name was *Liéh Yü K'ou*. In *Tai-ping yü-lan*, Bk. 961, f. 2.

21) *The shifted Cardinal points. From Elam to Early China*, in the *B. O. R.* January, 1888, vol. II, p. 29.—And above.

22) Short biographical notices of them are given in W. F. Mayer, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, Nos. 387, 412.








23) On the mythological aspect of Si Wang Mu. Cf. W. F. Mayer, *O.C.*, No. 572, and his article on *The "Western King Mother,"* pp. 12-14 of *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. II, Hong Kong, 1868.—I have collected all the available historical information which I will embody in a further article on the special subject.

24) On these institutions the earliest work, though rather mystic, is that of Dr. J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht, Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratia der Alten Welt, nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*. Stuttgart, 1861, 4to.—In 1865, MacLennan published his independent inquiry *Primitive Marriage*, Edinburgh. The most important other works on the matter are the following: from the same author: *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1886.—L. H. Morgan: *Systems of consanguinity and affinity of the human family (Smithsonian contributions to knowledge)*, vol. XVII, Washington, 1871; *Ancient Society*, New York, 1877.—Fisen and Howit, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, 1880, and several papers in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.—Prof. A. Girard-Toulon: *La mère chez certains peuples de l'antiquité*, Paris, 1867; *Les Origines de la Famille*, Genève, 1874; *Les origines du Mariage et de la Famille*, Genève, 1884. The latter work is a clear and most complete exposé of the whole question and the various solutions proposed.

25) There are in Chinese documents, notice of about ten of them, but several are simply a fabulous echo of the genuine ones.

26) Cf. the first parts of the *Tchu shu ki nien*.

27) Cf. the Legend of Sargon=Shennung in my paper on *The Chinese Mythical Kings and the Babylonian canon* (London, 1883).

- 28) 珠樹 *Tchu shu.*
 29) 王  *yü shu.*
 30) 琀  *Süen shu.* Not identified.
 31) 不死  *Puh sé shu.*
 32) 絳  *Kiang shu.*
 33) 碧  *Pih shu.*
 34) 瑤  *yao shu.*
 35) 瓊  *K'iang.* In the old Kuwen, according to the rude phonetic


spelling of the time it was written with the mute dererminative 王 and 岡 Kiu (*ng*) for the initial, covered by 矛 *M(éu* for the final. Cf. Min Tsi Kih. *Luh shu t'ung*, Bk. 4, f. 37.

36) It was said to be a myriad fathoms in height and three hundred arm-spans in circumference. (*K'ang-hi tze tien*, s. v. 96 + 15 f. 45 v.) and F. W. Meyers, *Ch. R. M.*, No. 317). A less exaggerated description is quoted in the *Yü pien* (a dictionary of A.D. 543 by Ku Yeh-wang), where it is stated that in the *Tsh shieh* country grows the *K'iang* tree, which is 120 fathoms in height and thirty arm-spans in circumference. Now *Tsch-shih* or 'heaped stones' was situated on the spur of the Kuenlun range, S.W. of modern Si ning fu. Cf. *Shan Hui King*, edit. Pih yuen Bk. II, fol. 20). It is spoken of in the *Yü-Kung*, I, 82, II, 7, and it is from there that Fanni Tubat started in A.D. 433 his kingdom in Tibet (cf. T. de L. *Tibet* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XXIII, p. 345). It is perhaps by a revivification of the old legend that the monastery of Kumbum (*Sku-bum*) H. Jaesehke, *Tibetan English Dict.* pp. 22, 394), near the same spot, is famous through a sacred tree, fabled to produce leaves bearing the image of Buddha, and of which the fallen leaves are sold as a sort of panacea. Père Huc, in his *Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine* (Paris, 1850) had published with confidence this fabulous report which since has been exploded by the Hungarian Count Bela Széchenyi. Cf. Lient. Kreitner, *Im Fernen Osten* (Vienna, 1881), p. 708.

37) On the west, south, and north sides. On the east side of the mountain there were the *sha Tang* and the *lung Kan*, but these are not called trees, *shu*.

38) In Sinico-Ammamite *ngok*, in Cantonese *yuk*. This old Chinese character *ok* 'precious, beautiful' finds its antecedent in the Old Babylonian *uk* which is explained by *ru-u-tu* to which cf. the Assyrian *rutu*, 'sovereignty, charm,' as shown by the comparison of their respective forms:

Old Babylonian:  Aniaud-Mechineau, *Tableaux*, No. 214.

Early Chinese:  Min Tsikih, *Luh shu t'ung*, IX, 11 r.

39) Where it ought to be completed by the word 'stone' 石 *shek*, decayed from an older *tak, tsak*. On the method of finding out the old Chinese sounds cfr. sec. 3 of my paper on *The land of Sinim not China in The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of Sept. 1887, pp. 187-190.

40) Such as the *Shouking*; the *Shan hui King* in its early parts, &c.

41) On *Ea=Oannes=Aeanu*, cf. *The Academy*, 9th June 1888.

42) *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. IV, pl. 15.— I follow the translation of Prof. A. H. Sayce in his *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, p. 238, substituting only 'Kin tree' for 'stalk,' and 'uknú stone' for 'white crystal.' The reasons of these changes appear in the present paper. François Lenormant in his *Origines de l'histoire*,

vol. ii. Paris. 1882, p. 104, had translated the same hymn, of which the two first verses which are here given, have also been translated by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen (*Modern Thought*, July, 1883, p. 327.) Both scholars translate "its fruit" instead of "its root."

43) For the lecture *zagiu* (na) cf. Prof. J. Halévy *Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne*, 7, p. 184 of *Zeitschr. f. Keilschriftforsch.* Leipzig, 1884, vol. I, quoting the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. IV, l. 19-21, which Fr. Lenormant read *zakuna*, in his paper *Les Noms de l'irain et du cuivre*, &c., p. 343, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1879, vol. II.

44) Cf. Lenormant, *Les noms*, &c. pp. 340-343.—J. Ménant, *Grammaire Assyrienne*, No 16.

45) W. St. Chad Boscawen, MS. note.

46) *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* IV, 31; II, 19, 2; Lenormant, *Op. cit.* p. 341.

47) Col. III, 53; Cf. Smith, *History of Babylonia*, edit. Sayce, p. 46; F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire*, I, p. 615.

48) *Cuneiform I. of W. A.*, II, 38, 386.

49) Theo. G. Pinches, *British Museum Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 157.—François Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. I, p. 45, has identified the Bikni country with the 'Aḫakava of Ptolemy.—Perhaps the Uknû of the East was a sort of 'jade,' though few specimens have hitherto been found. Dr. Otto Schoetensack, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin 1887, pp. 125-126, describes two jade-axes from Mukeyyer, two nephrit-axes from the same place and one nephrit-cylinder from Nimrud.

50) *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, II, 51, 13. F. Lenormant *Les noms de l'airain et du cuivre*, &c. l. c. p. 342, has suggested an identification with the Tabaristan, in proximity of the Bikni country; he has also suggested a connection between the name of the Uknû stone and that of the *uknû* canals or small rivers west of the Euphrates (cf. Finzi, *Ricerche per lo studio dell'antichità Assira*, p. 125). But it does not necessarily imply that the precious stone was also found there, as the word may have been employed solely in its meaning of shining and pure applied to the water of these small rivers in contradistinction to that of the great rivers, inasmuch as the determinative for stone which is always used when the *uknû* stone is mentioned does not appear in their name. Prof. Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures* p. 289) quotes the passage referred to about Dîpara in the following terms: "An early geographical list calls Dapara "the mountain of the bull-god" the country of crystal; and that this was to be sought in Southern Babylonia is indicated by the name of Ukuu, the river of 'crystal'. There is some evidence that the primitive Bull-god was Merodach himself. . . . entitled in early astronomical literature Gudi-bir, "the bull of light." The same scholar is inclined to connect the bull-god of Dapara very closely indeed with the city of Eridu, because the two great deities of Eridu were attended by a body guard of divine bulls (*ibid.* p. 290). But I do not see in these interesting remarks any proof of the geographical localisation of the mountain or country of Dapara, which, perhaps known by hearsay to the Babylonians may have been called the mountain of the Bull-god or of Merodach simply because it was the country where the *uknû* was brought from, and that the staff of Merodach was adorned with *uknû*. T. de L.

MAN HAN SI-FAN TSYEH-YAO,
A BUDDHIST REPERTORY
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.
(Continued from p. 55).

PART I.—SECTION I.

*Saṅs-rgyas kyi meḥ'an kyi min la.**

NAMES, DISTINCTIVE QUALITIES OF SAṅS-RGYAS, OR BUDDHA .

1. *Buddha* : the illuminated.¹ T. *Saṅs-rgyas* completely awakened, recovered from error. M. Fucibi. Mg. Burkan. Ch. Fo.
2. *Blagarân* : fortunate, excellent, divine.² T. *bcom ldanḥdaspa*, one who goes completely victorious. M. one who surpasses everything through a complete victory. Ch. one who goes out or away, having defeated.
3. *Tathâgata* : one who has reached the state in which he ought to be. T. *Ziu-gces-pa*, id.³
4. *Arhat* : one who is worthy, deserving, a Buddhist title.⁴ T. *dgra-bcom-pa*, one who has destroyed his enemies. M. Mg. id. Ch. one of suitable merit.
5. *Samyaksambuddha* : completely illuminated. T. *Yañ-dag-par-rdzogs-pai-saṅs-rgyas*, really, certainly perfect Buddha.⁵ Mg. id. M. Buddha who penetrates the truth. Ch. he who knows exactly everything.
6. *Vidyâcaraṇa sampanna* : endowed with conduct (or going) full of wisdom. T. *Rig-pa-dan-zabs-suldan-pa*, having feet in conformity with wisdom. M. Ch. as in Sanskrit.⁶
7. *Sugata* (Lis. svâgata) welcome (well come).⁷ T. *bde-par-gcigst-pa*, id. Ch. well gone (read: gata).
8. *Lokarit* : one who knows the world (or the worlds).⁸ T. *ljig-rten-mkhien-pa*, id. M. Ch. who reflects (or contemplates) the world.
9. *Anuttara* : with no superior. T. *bla-med-pa*, id. M. Mg. above com-

* The Tibetan transcription of the Sanskrit text is extremely incorrect. Minaieff in his recent work (Buddhism, recherches and materials Vol. I. Part 2. St. Petersburg, 1887) has corrected this text by substituting for it that of the Mahavyutpatti, as he states in his introduction. We note his corrections throughout.

Burnouf was astonished at the fact that Abel Rémusat translated certain lines correctly, though he transcribed them wrongly. The reason is very simple. Rémusat followed the Chinese version, and missed or caught the true meaning in accordance with it.

parison or without a rival.

10. *puruṣa dāmya sārathi*: skilled to daunt men.⁹ T. *skyes-bu-hdul-pai-kha-lo-bsgyur-ba*, who leads and daunts men. M. Mg. who leads and betters men. Ch. the great one who protects and governs.
11. *Lokajyeṣṭha*: the most venerable (or elevated) in the world. T. *hjiq-rten-gyi-gco-bo*, the excellent one of the world. M. Ch. id.
12. *Sarvajña*: who knows everything. T. *Thams-carl-mkhijyen-po lmo kun-mkhijyen-pa*, one who knows completely, or who knows all. M. Mg. id.
13. *Trāyā*: protector, defender.¹⁰ T. *skjob-pa*, id. M. a defence. Ch. constant protector. Min. *trāyī*.
14. *Devatīdera*: (read devāti) superior god of gods.¹¹ T. *lhuī-gaṅ-lūa god of god*. M. Mg. Ch. (abka, tengri, tien) heaven of heaven.
15. *Mahāshi* (r. maharshi): the great rishi.¹² T. *drau-sron-cen-po*, the great hermit. M. the great spiritual man. Ch. the great learned hermit. Mg. the great arsi.
16. *Dharmasvanī*: sovereign of the law (according to the law). T. *chos-kyi-rje*, id. Ch. the exalted king¹³ of the doctrine. Mg. king of the doctrine.
17. *Rshabha*: the powerful, the begetter.¹⁴ T. *khju-meog*, shepherd, he who gathers together the herd. M. distinguished above all. Ch. exalted among all.
18. *Nāyaka*: the (perfect) guide. T. *hvdren-pa* id. M. Ch. able to conduct others.¹⁵
19. *Advayarāṭī* (r. advaya^o): who teaches not two (doctrines).¹⁶ T. *gñ'is-med-pur-gsun-pa*, who teaches what is not double. M. Ch. id. Mg. who teaches not double.
20. *Çāndvādāni*: (r. Çāudhodāni) son of Çudhodāna.¹⁷ T. *Zās-gc'an-gi-sras*, son of Zās-gtsan (the pure meat). M. of the king pure eater. Ch. eldest son of—.
21. *Daçabala*: T. *stobs-ben*, tenfold strength.¹⁸
22. *Māraçit*: victorious over the demon Māra.¹⁹ T. *bdul thul*, victorious over bdud (the devil). M. he who defeated Ari (the evil genius of the air). Mg. id. Simnu the demon of base passions, lubricity. Ch. who subjugated Ma, (the same as Ari).
23. *Mahātma*: the great soul (or self).²⁰ T. *dag-ñid-cen-po*, the great self. M. Ch. The great holy man.
24. *Vijayī*: victorious. T. *rnam-par-rgyal-pa*, totally victorious.²¹
25. *Vibhās*: the eminent master.²² T. *khjab-bdag*, universal master M. universal king. Ch. perfectly superior, univers ally excellent.

26. *Viçrantara* (r. viçrânto),²³ who has penetrated everything, who is present everywhere, T. *thams-cud-sgröl*, who saves all. M. who regulates or surpasses all. Mg. who surpasses all. Ch. who extends everywhere.
27. *Sarradharmagrara* (r. oegvara):²⁴ lord of all the doctrines. T. *c'os thams-cud-kyi-dbañ-phjug*, id. M. he whose power regulates all the doctrines. Ch. he who exists *per se* in all the laws.
28. *Guyasagara*: sea of qualities.²⁵ T. *yon-tan-rgya-mts'o*, ocean of virtue.
29. *Çaragam*: a refuge, place of safety. T. *skyabs*. M. Ch. upon whom all rely or trust.
30. *Vādīsīha*: lion of eloquence. T. *smar-bai-sen-ge*, id. M. Mg. The lion who penetrates all. Ch. the teacher who speaks of the law.
31. *Narottama*: the most perfect of men. T. *mi-mc'og* id. M. Mg. the most intelligent. Ch. the most devoted.
32. *Mārābhīhū*: he who overcomes Māra. T. *bdud-zil-gyi-gnon*, who may inflict injury upon the demon. M. who through his majesty abates the power of Ari. Mg. who abates the glory of Simnun. Ch. id.
33. *Apratipudgala*: without rival as to beauty (or without further transmigration). T. *gañ-zag-zla-med*, with no rival, peerless. M. Mg.²⁶ *putgali* without equal. Ch. the old man without superior (or without superior as to number of years).
34. *Vāntaśha*: who defeats all evils. T. *skyon-bsal-bu*, who removes impurity. M. Mg. who cleanses impurity. Ch. sinless.
35. *Haataśha*: who destroys every poison (of evil, sin, vice). T. *dug-beom-po*, id. M., who causes all nuisance to disappear. Mg. who destroys every poison, evil.
36. *Anangjit*: who triumphs over the passion of love. T. *lus-med-thul*, who overcomes the incorporeal.²⁷ M. Mg. who submits. id.
37. *Shātabhijā* (r. śhātabhijñā): who possesses the six supernatural powers.²⁸ T. *mdon-ces-drug-rdan*, who surpasses the six intellectual powers. M. who possesses the six perfect intelligences (spirits). Mg. who possesses the intelligence of the six heavens. Ch. who penetrates completely the six spirits. Min. *shad*.
38. *Bhacāntakrīt*: who is the cause of the end of the world.²⁹ M. Mg. who makes the world to terminate. (Mg. *sansar*, from the Sanskrit *sansāra*--passage from one to the other vicissitude). Ch., who causes the centuries to pass in succession.
39. *Aghahantar*: (^otā) who destroys sin. T. *sdig-joms*, id.
40. *Siddhārtha*³⁰ (correct. fr. sidvārtha): who achieves what is useful, who

- accomplishes his destiny. T. *don-grub*, who satisfies the desires. M. Mg. like Sanser. Ch. id.
41. *Çākyaśiṅha* : lion of the Çākya.³¹ T. Sakia-senge, id. M. Ch. Çākya's lion.
42. *Varada*: who gives the best gifts.³² T. *mchon-sbyin*, id. M. Ch. id.
43. *Vīra* : valiant, heroic.³³ T. *dpā-ba*, id. Mg. batur, id.
44. *Niravatyā* (r. °avadya): without blemish, fault. T. *kho-mtho-mi-mna-bu* Min. *nirugha*.
45. *Vītatṛskya*, freed from thirst or passion, without desire. ³⁴T. *sred-pa dañ-bral-ba*, deprived of desire. M. Ch. id.
46. *Nirādāna* : who accepts nothing, who wishes for no present, accepts no gift. T. *Len-pa-mi-mna-ba*, id. M. Ch. id. Mg. who takes nothing.
47. *Vīçruta* : renowned, illustrious. T. *ruam-par-grags-pa*, very (vi) renowned. M. Ch. id.
48. *Çubhūdharmakara* : author of the good, the prosperous doctrine. T. *dge-bai-c'os-kyi-'pyin-nas*, source of the doctrine of happiness. M. id. Ch. base of happy doctrine. Min. *dharmā*.
49. *Çuci* : pure. T. *ge'añ-ba*, id.
50. *Anusama* (r. anupama): without comparison. T. *dbed-m'ol-pa*, without model. Ch. M. without equal.
- 51) *Trikāḷajñā* : who knows the three ages.³⁵ T. *dus-gsaum-mk'lejen-pa*, id. Mg. who knows the three times or seasons.
- 52) *Nirmala* : without spot. T. *dri-ma-med-pa*, id.
- 53) *Nirjala*: without sickness, pain. T. *nañ-mi-mña-bu*, id.
- 54) *Sūryarañça* : of the solar race.³⁶ T. *ñi-mai-rigs*, id.
- 55) *Āngirasa*: (cor. fr. adgi) issued from the sun (like a stream), from the substance or sap of the sun. T. *ñi-mai-rygun*. M. allied to the sun.³⁷
- 56) *Gāutama* : transcribed *Goutam*, *Goodama*, &c.³⁸
- 57) *Ikshvākula nandana* (r. Ikshvāku kula°): joy of Ikshvāku's race.³⁹ T. *Bu-ram-ciñ-pai-rigs-dga-ba*, joy of the race of the sugar cane. M. Ch. id. Min. *Ikhsu*.
- 58) *Prabhu*⁴⁰ : supreme master, sovereign ; independent king. T. *mña-bdag*, id. M. supreme king. C. DE HARLEZ.

NOTES.

1) Or, whose characteristic is purity. Fucili is an alteration of unknown origin. *Fo*, the Chinese word, was then pronounced Bot or But.

2) A title of Vishnu and the older deities as possessing goods and imparting them to their devotees : also given to Buddha so as to place him on the level of the ancient gods of India. Rémusat reads *bhagavānra*.

3) Come at his proper time and in the requisite manner, like his pre-

decessors; a title of the seven Buddhas.

4) Title conferred upon Buddhist devotees who have attained the highest degree of perfection, but have not yet become Buddhas. Rem.: qui rend à chacun selon ses mérites. The Tibetan, M. Mg. trans. is based upon a false derivation from *akī-hat*.

5) The Tibetan, Mandchu, and Mongolian translators have taken the past participle *buddha* from *budh* for the proper name of Çākyaṃuni.

6) R. dont le pied suffit à une marche lumineuse.

7) Title of praise given to the Buddhas on account of the felicity they brought with them into the world. Sometimes *sugata* is used in the sense of 'gone into nirvāna.'

8) Who knows the three worlds: earth, hell, and heaven, or the mass of beings in general. R. *logavitra*.

9) *Sārathi*: lit. good driver, coachman.

10) *Trāyā*, an unusual and incorrect form. Title of Indra *trātar*.

11) Name given to the infant Çākyaṃuni because all the statues of the gods, including Çiva himself, bowed their heads before him in the temple of Çiva-maheçvara.

12) The great rishi (inspired sage and poet). The seven mahārshis were the first human beings, endowed with supernatural power, sons of Brahma, born from his mind. Buddha is the mahārshi of the mahārshis. They are also called *prajāpati*, lords of creatures.

13) This word corresponds to the Sanskrit *su*, which the author supposed to be in *svamī*; but *svamī* comes from *sva*, own.

14) Lit. "bull," a title of the gods in the Veda, denoting strength, begetting power, etc. A man of this name, son of Meru, is known in the later poems as the father of Bharata, ancestor of the Bhāratas, whose exploits are sung in the Mahābhārata.

15) Buddha is said to be the guide of men and even of the *devas*. He shows them the path of perfection and nirvāna.

16) Or simply: true, sincere, trustworthy. *Adraya* in philosophical sense means identity of all beings and the knowledge of this identity. Name of one of the Buddhas.

17) Name of the King of Kapila-vastu, father of Siddhārtha or Çākyaṃuni. The Tibetan doctors interpret this word etymologically from *çuddha*, purified, and *odana*, meal.

18) Name of an uncle of Çākyaṃuni, who was one of his first disciples.

19) *Māra*, lit. destroyer, murderer. cf. the Avestic *māravāo*, an epithet of the demon Ahriman). *Māra* is the god of love and coition among the Hindoos. The Buddhists admitted him into their pantheon as the genius of the passions. He tempted Buddha on several occasions to prevent him from accomplishing his work. Sometimes he promises him universal dominion as the condition of desisting from his enterprise; sometimes he inspires him with fear and hesitation, or seeks to terrify him with apparitions. But Buddha triumphed over everything, conquered *Māra*, and became his superior (*Mārābhīhuṣ*).

20) Name of the universal soul of Hindoo pantheism, the principle of life and thought in the universal being called *tad*, *brahma* or *prāna*. Internal and supern. tural illumination.

21) Subduer of demons, evil men, passions, obstacles, &c.

22) Title of the highest deity Brahmā, Vishnu &c., according to the text.

23) From *viçva-tar*: means : who traverses, vanquishes all, who causes

to traverse or saves.

24) *Içvara*, the supreme Being ; name of the highest deity.

25) Word commonly used in Sanskrit to designate a man who excels in every respect.

26) *Pratipudgala* seems not to be used in Sanskrit books.

27) Etymological translation of *amunga* incorporeal, god of love, Cupido.

38) These powers were acquired by Buddha the night before he attained Buddhahood. They are imparted to every arhat who reaches the fourth degree of *dhyāna* or meditation. They are :

[1] *Dīvyacakṣus*, 'divine eye,' power of comprehending all things by intuition.

[2] *dīryaśrotram*, 'divine ear,' power of perceiving and understanding all the sounds and noises of the universe, which have all sense and meaning.

[3] *Rddhisakṣātkriyā*, power of transporting oneself in a supernatural manner; complete agility of body in absolute accordance with the will.

[4] *Pūrranirāsānsmṛti*, remembrance of all former existences (or dwellings).

[5] *Paracittañānam*, knowledge of the thoughts, intentions and desires of others, of every thinking being.

[6] *Āçracakṣaya*, 'destruction of the current,' end put to the perpetual flux of existence.

29) Or of existence; principal cause of *jāti*, birth. Destroying sin and passion, introducing men into *nirvāna*. Buddha stops the *cursus mundi* and makes an end of the actual world.

80) First name of Buddha interpreted and applied in its etymological sense.

31) The word *sinha* is generally used in Sanskrit to designate the principal hero of a race.

32) Used to signalise beauty and power in a god or man.

33) *Vīryam* in the Buddhist language is energy in advancing towards perfection.

34) *Trṣṭhā* (lit. thirst) is the desire to satisfy a felt want.

35) The present, the past, and the future.

36) Read *sārya vañçya*.

37) *Angiras* was one of the mahārshis, or of the prañāpatis progenitors of men. His descendants the *Āngirasas* are half-supernatural beings, sons of Heaven, messengers of the gods. *Agni*, the god of fire, principally bears the name *Angiras*. The *Āngirasas* are often considered to be sons of *Agni*, and personifications of light and of the luminous element.

83) Name of *Cākyamuni*'s family, used to distinguish him from the preceding and following Buddhas, merely transcribed in the versions. There is still a family *Gotama* in the land where Buddha was born.

39) *Ikṣvāku*, son of *Manu*, the son of *Vivasvat* (i. e. the sun), and therefore founder of a dynasty of kings who boasted to have descended from the sun-god, and were called the solar race. They reigned at *Ayodhyā*. *Rāma* and many other heroes are said to be of this race. A branch of the family reigned at *Mithila*. Another royal race was called the lunar race. *Nandana*, prop. who rejoices: common appellation of heroes and glorious sons of a family. *Ikṣvāku* is once mentioned in the *Rig Veda* (x. 89-4) as a servant of *Indra*, who flourishes and gleams like the stars in the vault of Heaven.

40) This word is used to designate the Supreme Being, source of all existence.

C. de H.

(To be continued).

THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF UPPER EGYPT.








ALTHOUGH every Egyptologist who has been up to the first cataract must have seen the profusion of inscriptions on the rocks about Assuan, yet, strange to say, only those tablets bearing royal names, and perhaps half a dozen with private names, have yet been published. During ten days at Assuan last season, with Mr. Griffith, we copied all that we could find, 335 altogether, omitting all that had been published, so far as Wiedemann records in the notes to his "Geschichte." But these are not all: beside about 36 scattered in Upper Egypt, we copied 278 from the rocks about Silsileh and a few miles northward, most of which had apparently never been seen by any Egyptologist before. Lastly, from the rocks at Thebes I copied 38 of the Ramesside age. As all these inscriptions have appeared in "A Season in Egypt" and an index of names, I do not propose to enter on them fully in a short space here; but rather to give such general results as may be useful to those who do not care to examine the subject for themselves.


The inscriptions are of two main classes: memorials of travellers—which are almost the only class near Silsileh—and funereal tablets, which are the most usual at Assuan. The travellers rarely, if ever, put up more than their names, titles, and lineage; and consequently the results of their inscription, so far as political history is concerned, are but small: their value lies in the social question of the progress of the hieratic script, the observance of maternal ancestry, and the condition of the people during the period of the XIth, XIIth and XIIIth dynasties. The main results in the history is a suggested re-arrangement of the XIth dynasty, from the facts that an Antef was almost certainly a son of Mentuhotep Ra-neb-kher: that Antefaa is the same king as one named Antef in other inscriptions, as is shown by the Horus-name being identical: and that the names of private persons Antef and Mentuhotep are completely intermingled all through the inscriptions, and were combined in one as Mentu-hotep-Antef. From all these points, added to the pyramidion in the British Museum showing an Antef, son of a Mentuhotep, and the occurrence of a Men name among the Antefs at Karnak, it is certain now that Lieblein's assigning the Antefs to the Xth dynasty and the Mentuhoteps to the XI, is a mistake. The conclusion that seems most likely is that the Antef and Mentuhotep names went regularly in alternate generations, according to the Egyptian custom of naming a child from his grandparent; and there is no need, so far as remains yet go, to believe in more than 3 Mentuhoteps and 5 Antefs, including one as yet unknown be-

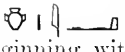





yond these rock-tablets. This reconstruction is more fully stated in the volume of inscriptions.




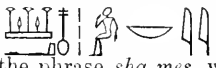
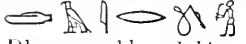
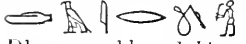
The funereal inscriptions of Assuan, follow the usual formulæ of a royal offering to various gods,—specially those of the district, Khnumu, Anket, and Sati,—of cattle, geese, bread, and all good things, for the ka of the deceased; also naming his wife and family, sometimes as participating in the offerings, sometimes merely a list of his children apparently alive at the time. In many cases figures of the father and mother, and sometimes all of the children, are placed by the inscription. In one instance a man is accompanied by his boy, who holds an animal in his arms and leads two dogs. The tablets of the great courtiers of the XIXth dynasty are grand examples; on some specially high or prominent rock the king is shown riding in his chariot, or striking down an enemy, while the fan-bearer bows behind him. It is probable that these were put up by the road round the cataract, on occasion of Seti or Ramessu passing that way in a negro-raid to the south; they served to testify to the devotion of Mermes, Amenemapt, or Messu, who thus glorified his own name as well as that of his master.

The variety of titles in these inscriptions is a good subject of study; but owing to the absence of any general work on titles as a basis, it is impossible to treat them satisfactorily without taking in account a great deal of scattered materials. With the names, however, the case is different. Lieblein's Dictionary of proper names has laid a broad foundation, and we can easily see how far our fresh material extends our knowledge. The dictionary contains about 4800 names, reckoning all the small variations which are there distinguished. The new inscriptions (including all that I collected this year) give 825 names: of which 224, or 27 per cent are in Lieblein, and 112 more are varied spellings of others in the dictionary; thus leaving 489 new names, or 60 per cent, of the whole; while including variations there are 600 fresh entries for a dictionary. We will shortly notice now the more interesting of these new names.

Names referring to the gods. , also written phonetically      : this is not given as a sole name, but only in combinations in the dictionary. Nefer-aäh is new. There are some new compounds of Amen, as Amen-em-hert, Amen-em-ka, Ka-em-amen, Amen-kena; and long agglutinated names which were fashionable in the XIth dynasty, such as Amen-em-hat-nehi and Amen-em-hat-nehi-senba. The name Isis is singularly rare in these inscriptions, only one instance being seen, at Silsieh: this is the more striking as there are as many as 39 names containing Isis in the dictionary, probably from lower Egypt. One new compound of Anubis occurs, Anpu-em-ha. Ptah does

not occur in any graffiti south of El Kab, where a man  has left his name on the temple. Menthu is very common, as might be expected in the XIth and XIIth dynasties; Menthu-antef, Menthu-USEREN-antef, Menthu-NETER-āu, MenthuHOTEP-abu, MenthuHOTEP-antef, and MenthuHOTEP-senb are all new forms. Three new names occur of unusual forms—Neter-mes, Neter-hemt, and Neter-sen, but all from Thebes. A fresh Horus name is Har-merer-neter, which is curious, Hat-hor-senb is a new form. Kheper occurs alone as a name. Khem (or Ames)-nekht, strange to say, does not appear in the Dictionary; also Khem-r Khem-du-f-an, and Du-khem. Khnumu is not very usual, and only occurs in the new names—Khnum-nta and Khnum-dudut. Rertu, known as the name for a hippopotamus, occurs at Assuan as a name of Taurt, followed by a figure of the goddess: this is similar to Apt' a hippopotamus, being also a name for the goddess. Of Sebak a few new compounds are found, Sebak-meren, Sebak-er-du, and Sebak-si-nehi. Sati appears in Sati-ab and Sati-sankh. Uajt (or Buto) occurs twice, in Uajt-nub-em-nebt, and Teta-uajt; whereas the complementary goddess of the south, Nekheb (or Neshem) is not found except at her city, El Kab. Tahuti is frequent: Tahuti, Tahuti-amakh, Tahuti-em-heb, Tahuti-nekht, and Tahuti-se all being new names.

Of other names of special types, as well as new in form, we may note the following.  and  are the only names known beginning with *ab*. , "the favourite," and , do not, strange to say, occur in the dictionary as separate names. Of Antef there are, as we might expect, half a dozen new compounds; but except Antef-Ra and Ra-Antef, they are not peculiar. With ānkh there are twenty new forms, among which we may note Ankh-uajtet-senbu, Ankh-f-amen, Ankh-mes, Ankh-nebf, Ankht-uza-uf, and Ankh-hak-rah-nebu. Bu is a common opening, Bu-se-amt, Bu-sebak, and Bu-sen, among others, being new; as were also Per-nebi, Per-neferu, and Pert-ankh. A curious name, , meh khemt, occurs to a third son, like the Latin Tertius. A group of names begin with , which seems a new form: Nu-ab, Nu-bi, Nu-nansi, Nu-senba-ānkh, beside the goddess Nut. Many fresh names occur with neb; Neb-res-uaj (a form of Neb-tasi) Neb-sennu, Neb-kan, Neb-ked, and Nebt-merit; and with *nub*, as Nub-ari, Nub ā ā ankhtet ab, and Nubt-uaj-nehi. The nefer names contain, of course, some novelties, as Nefer-peri ("good appearing" or "welcome"), Nefer-em-heb, Nefer-red-per ("good increase of the house") and Nefer-sat ("pretty girl"), evidently babies' names. A remarkable name at Silsilah is Ramena; as it has the prefix *neb tau* it seems like a king's name, yet no such king is known, unless we suppose it intended for some person called after Menes, with the prefix Ra; several cases occur of Ra

being added to a name usually without it, Ra-shepseskaf, Ra-nefer-ka (otherwise Nefer ka) Ra-antef, Ra-sebskemsaf, and so here apparently Ra-mena. Somewhat like Strongith'arm is the name Reunen-fankli: "his arm lives." Antef occurs again in Huit-antef. Hā-ā-t, Hrtan, Htankhi-aten-it, Ha-aitep, Ha-ankh, Ha-rer, Hatankh are all new; as also a group beginning with , Ha-usertes-en-mer, Hat-menfiu Ha-khnunu-hotep, and Ha-tahu-ti. With the beginning , we find Heru-mert, Her-em-ra, Her-n, Her-se-bn. The names based on *hak*, prince, are analogous to those on *sar* chief (cf. Sarah, Heb. princess); Hak-resch, and Hak-reshu, "prince of joy." Three new names—Hegegu, Hegegut, and Hegegu-sjeda—seem to refer to a name of Khem, Hages or Hagega. Hotep furnishes a list of new names; Hotep-ankh, Hotep-ankhuf, Hotep-āt, Hotepu-ankh, Hotep-mut, and others. Khen,  seems to be hitherto unknown for a name, yet it is found thrice—in Khen-nti-hotep, Khen-nt-khati-hotep, and Khen-nt-khati-user, referring to the name of Horus Khen-nti-khati. The se- and set-, son or daughter, gives naturally many new names, as Se-ahgu, Se-antef, Se-Se-perāā, Se-neb-hotep, Se-hotep, Se-sankhf, Set-an, Set-nebu, Set-neferurt, and Set-hotep-kan. The name  "beginning of children-nebit," seems to show that the phrase *sha-mes*, which has been said (on the strength of another supposed variant) to be a title of Neith, "beginning of births," is really "first born," as was otherwise believed; here we have clearly "beginning of children," which is just a close variant, *nejeru* for *mesu*. The common name Teta, which is hitherto unknown in combinations, forms part of such names as Teta-ankhitha, Teta-uajt, Teta-pu, Teta-m-hotep, Tetamekh, Teta-nefer, Teta-nehi, and Teta-senbt: these are both from Assuan and Thebes. A very strange name is  "to strike" or "knock down;" and  *Dbā* resembles *dabi*, a bear (Chabas), but with the modern Arab *dab'a* a hyæna, before us it is hard not to refer to that.

We have now glanced at the principal groups of new names, and it will be seen that this fresh 600 varieties will add a fair amount to our knowledge of Egyptian names. It is to be wished that some good reader would take up the subject of names, classifying them according to their roots, and showing in detail the extent of their meanings. There is a vast amount of interesting matter on the principles of name-giving among the Egyptians which lies ready to be worked out in Lieblein's Index.

The earliest rock inscriptions of all appear to be those on the great rock in the valley at El Kab, of the sixth dynasty; but as these seem to have been all published in the *Denkmäler* and *Zeitschrift*, we did not stay to examine them.

W. M. FLINDERS PÉRIE.

THE CONE-FRUIT OF THE ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS.

(Continued from p. 142).

(c.) The final question suggests itself—where could the Assyrians have got the citron? It is not indigenous in that part of Asia. The cradle of the citron would appear to be somewhere between China and India. Alph. De Candolle says that, from what is stated by botanists, “it cannot be doubted that the *Citrus Medica* proper (the citron) is indigenous in India.” Without stopping to consider whether this statement is sufficiently satisfactory, there is probably little doubt that, in Assyrian times, the citron was to be had in India. At the present day there are numerous varieties of citron, all along the Western coast of India down to Ceylon, which would point to the fact that the citron found its way to Western India at a very remote period.

Reinaud says that the Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Persians in ancient times traded with India and China. Nothing could, therefore, have been easier than the introduction of the citron fruit into Persia from India by these traders almost as soon as it found its way to Western India. It has a very thick skin and keeps well for a long time, and with care would have easily stood the long voyages of those days along the coast from Western India to the River Tigris. As the citron is usually full of mature seeds, there would not have been any difficulty in getting it to grow in Persia—say in the days that the Phœnicians traded with India. Therefore, although it may have been yet a rare thing, there is no good reason to suppose that it might not have been known to the Assyrians in the reign of Assurnazirpal, about 880 B.C., which is stated to be the period of the figures in the Nimroud Gallery of the British Museum.

Judging from these monuments, there is no evidence whatever that the citron had been in those days *naturalized*. The sculptures only represent indigenous or naturalized trees, and show no trace of citron trees. According to this view, the only places where knowledge of its fruit is shown is in these figures, and in one of the conventional sacred trees; also in another place, of which I shall speak presently. The citron rind is very fragrant, and if, as I surmise, it was rare in Assyria in those days, it is very likely to have been selected for offerings in temples, and to kings.

(d.) There are, however, other, and in this sense very important sculptures, two of the figures of which would seem to throw a great deal of light on the real nature of the cone-fruit in dispute. Pl. 9 of Layard's monuments of Nineveh (new series) shows men carrying what appear to be

strings, or sticks, along which pomegranates are tied. They are much like the strings of onions of Europe. Other figures are carrying baskets of pomegranates and grapes, and, judging from the *regularity* of certain conical piles—probably also balls of sweetmeats, such as may be seen any day in the Indian bazaars. The oblong and square-cornered things in another basket are probably also sweetmeats. Most of the men in one hand carry a pomegranate branch, no doubt with the object of flapping away the flies or wasps from the grapes, sweetmeats, &c. The most interesting figures in this plate, however, are two of the foremost: each carrying in his hand, with much pomp, as if something rare, a fruit which resembles a pine-apple. Whatever it may have been, it is evident that, besides being rare, it must have been extraordinary. The part, which might be taken for the tuft of leaves on the top of a pine-apple, is, however, proportionally *too small* to be that: moreover, its middle division is *significantly* curled inwards, somewhat like a snail. The surface of these fruits, as well as the bodies of the pigeons carried by another figure, and also the three citron-like fruits in the same plate are divided by lines into diamond-shaped spaces, as if the artist had not the patience to chisel out the real features.

Now under no circumstances does the idea of these two extraordinary fruits having been *pine-apples* seem admissible, as this fruit is of American origin, and could not well have been found in Assyria before the discovery of America. With regard to this fruit, Alph. De Candolle speaks very decidedly, and says: "The pine-apple must be an American plant early introduced by Europeans into Asia and Africa. *Nana* was the Brazilian name, which the Portuguese turned into *Ananas*. The Spanish called it *pinas*, because the shape resembles the fruit of a species of pine. All early writers on America mention it; . . . it has a Mexican name, *Matzatl*. The works of the Greeks, Romans, and Arabs make no allusion to this species, which was evidently introduced into the Old World after the discovery of America."

The fruit in question, although represented so like a pine-apple, *cannot be one*, nor is there any chance of its being this time mistaken for a *fir-cone*. Then, if not a pine-apple, and not a fir-cone what can this extraordinary and rare fruit be which is carried with so much pomp? I incline to the notion that it is no other than a *monstrous or abnormal form of citron*, which in China is called *Fo-shou-kan*, or Buddha's hand; and in India is called *Chungura*, or six fingers—this name having originally been given to a specimen with six divisions. This fingered citron, which Galesio called "chiffoné," is produced sometimes as an abnormal form

no ordinary citron trees, especially those grown from seed. In these abnormal forms the ends of the carpels, instead of being united into the mamilla, or apex of the citron, remain ununited, or "chiffonés," and appear like fingers, some being curled downwards like half-closed fingers. All species of the citrus genus are more or less liable to these abnormal forms when grown from seed, but the citron, perhaps, is more than others liable to produce them, and the fringing of the apex, in such cases, is much more striking.

E. BONAVIA.

(To be continued.)

THE PEHLEVI SUFFIX MAN.

IN my study on the Origin and Nature of the Pehlevi, I did not take account of the opinion which suppresses the suffix *man* and makes a variety of *á* from the character . That is what I cannot regard as possible for the following reasons :

1. The supposition of an error in reading which could make it be believed that this character represented *man* could not well apply and rests on no positive fact.

2. It is not at all probable that the inventors of these Pehlevi characters who had been so sparing of them and represented five or six meanings by the same letter ($\text{!} = o, u, n, v, r$) would have created two for the same vocable.

3. If the suffix is only applied to nouns, we can see there the ordinary emphatic *á*. But we find it also at the end of the pronouns, e. g., *valman*, *denman*, and even at the end of particular conjunctives, e. g., *levatman*, 'with,' *tammen* (*lotanman*) 'here', 'there'. Here that is in no wise explained. See also the verb *homan*.

4. The Pehlevi system which Haug called *Chaldeo-Pehlevi*, has *á* for *man* at the end of nouns, e. g., *yadá* ; but it has another character at the end of pronouns and adverbial prepositions. It clearly results from this that the Chaldeo-Pehlevi did not employ this suffix *man* in nouns, but had in its place the habitual *á*, while it was used for other kinds of words. It may therefore be concluded that if this system has *á* for , it is not because this sign figures *á*, but because that this system did not use it so much as the other : that is all.

5. In the plural *valmanushân*, which would be the *á* ? *valâshân*, is impossible.

It still seems to me, without being able to affirm it, that the reading *man* is much too ancient to be a pure error. That one should not know how to explain it, is no reason for suppressing it. In *tammen*, *man* forms part of the corresponding Aramean word: . There, the reading is certain.

C. DE HARLEZ.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE CONE-FRUIT OF THE ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS.

(Concluded from p. 172).

If this theory has any force, it would account for the figures carrying these monstrous and rare specimens with an air of importance. The Chinese put them on porcelain dishes in their rooms in order to enjoy their fragrance, and I should say their wonderfulness; not improbably, the Assyrian kings made a similar use of them. It would account also for the cone fruit being so much like a citron, and so like specimens now found in India and Ceylon. The accompanying outlines of this abnormal form of citron are $\frac{1}{4}$ of the natural size, and of two specimens I saw in India. The Chinese, however, have much larger ones produced on trees which normally produce *large* citrons.



(C) 'Changura' from India taken also from nature, $\frac{1}{4}$ of natural size.

(Note the curliness of the inner fingers as in Layard's pl. 9.

—Fringed or ununited carpels which normally are agglutinated and form

the mamilla of the citron.

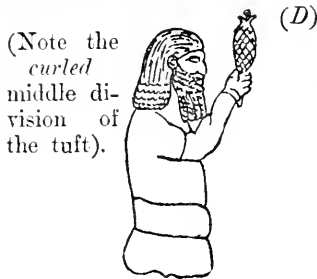


(B)

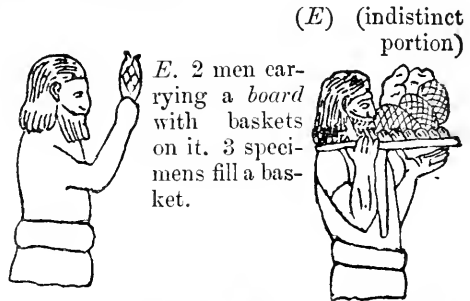
Another 'Changura,' $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

It would follow also that, although rare yet, the citron was *grown* in Assyria in the days of those monuments. Thus, if this theory can stand, it would appear that the cone-fruit presented by the figures becomes a key to the identification of the pineapple-shaped fruits of Layard's pl. 9, and the latter serve as a key to the identification of the former. This theory would also seem to account for the custom of the Jews in making use of

the citron in their Feast of the Tabernacles. This idea they not improbably got during their captivity in Babylonia.



Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, *new series*, pl. 9, 'Men carrying fruit. &c.' (Kouyunjik).



Layard's Mon. of Nineveh, *n. s.*, pl. 8, 'Men carrying fruit &c.' (Kouyunjik).



Cone-fruit of the Assyrian Monuments, (*much reduced*).

a and *b*, depressions on both sides of the apex.

Most of the citrus genus give two crops in the year, and the fruit which ripens in summer is much more warty than that which ripens in winter. Thus, if the cone fruits are citrons, and faithfully represented by the sculptor, their extreme wartiness would show that the offering was probably made in connection with the feast of the *Summer Solstice*.

To recapitulate then the various points which support this citron theory.

1. We know that the citron was cultivated in Italy in the 3rd or 4th century, and probably was known to the Romans much earlier.

2. We know that it came from Persia, and that in ancient times it was called Persian or Assyrian apple, and even in this day, its Botanical name is *Citrus Medica*, and that Theophrastus saw it in Media in the 3rd century B.C.

3. We know that the Jews used and still use the citron in their church ceremonies. This custom, it would seem, they might have got from contact with the Babylonians.

4. We know that it was an easy matter to have introduced the citron by seed from India by the trade route of the Persian Gulf, or even by way of Afghanistan, where at a much later period, in Emperor Baber's time, citrons were naturalized and plentiful, and that in South Persia it was an easy matter to grow them, and eventually naturalize them.

5. We know that citron trees, especially those grown from seed, some-

times produce fingered fruit, and before this phenomenon was accounted for, such productions must have caused wonder, and were looked upon as *supernatural* phenomena.

6. We know, finally, that the cone-fruits of the Assyrian monuments are very much like large warty citrons, and that those in Layard's pl. 9 are neither pine-apples nor fir-cones, and that they *may* be intended for fingered *citrons*, represented by a rude art.

Therefore, although there were fir-trees in Assyria, and certain hymns mention the fir-cone as a thing held in reverence, the balance of probability, in my opinion, remains in favour of the cone-fruits of these sculptures having been intended to represent *citrons*.

* * *

Since writing the foregoing, I have had my attention directed by Prof. Dr. T. de Lacouperie to p. 83 Vol. I—note 2, of Lenormant's "Origines de l'histoire." He says: "In a large number of representations, this tree (fir tree or supposed tree of life) has all round it a series of branches, regularly disposed, each branch ending in a cone of fir or cedar; nevertheless, he adds, the artist has not given to this plant either the foliage or the habit of a coniferous tree" (G. Rawlinson—The five Great Monarchies of the ancient Eastern world, 2nd. edit. t. II. p. 7.)

It is worth noting here that in "Perrot and Chipiez's," vol. II, fig. 45, opposite p. 98, from the Louvre, there is a representation of another kind of sacred tree, which is unmistakably a *fir-tree*, with symmetrical branches and fir-cones in *groups*, as they are often seen in nature. We know, therefore, that, when the Assyrian artists wished to represent a fir-tree, they knew perfectly well how to combine a conventional ornament with a semblance of its *real original*; and the presumption is that, in the sacred tree alluded to by Lenormant, with *single* cones all round its circumference, these were not meant to indicate *fir-cones*, but something else.

In some future paper on the "Sacred Trees" of the Assyrian Monuments, I hope to be able to throw further light on the probable nature of the single cones of this particular tree.

Lenormant, in the same note, further mentions that "It is this fruit of the pine or the cedar which, in the Assyrian sculptures, the gods and the genii frequently hold in their hand, presenting it point forwards, whether they are in presence of the sacred tree, or accompanying the king to protect him. In the latter case the cone-point is always turned towards the king," as if it were the means of communication between the protector and the protected, the instrument by which the grace and power pass from the spirit to the mortal taken under its care (Rawlinson's before-mentioned

work).

“Frequently also this cone is presented under the nostrils of the king, that he may breathe it; for it is always through the nostrils that the breath of life is communicated, both in the notions of the Chaldeo-Assyrians, of the Egyptians, and repeated in Genesis.”

The view taken by Lenormant in the foregoing note is pretty; but, I would ask, “Is it true?” With an attitude of reverence and enthusiasm for the spiritual feelings of these ancient people, I venture to say it would be possible to exaggerate in one’s mind their real sentiments.

Whatever may have been their spiritual yearnings and mythical notions, it is impossible to examine the Assyrian monuments without being impressed with the notion that the Assyrian artists had in their minds a vast deal of *realism*. Their perspective is like that of the Chinese and Japanese, but they represented *what they saw* with a wonderful accuracy, however rude the manner of their doing so in stone may have been. Their fir trees, their vines, fig trees, lions, dogs, &c. show this unmistakably. The delineation of muscles, though rude and exaggerated, is real. At a later period, moreover, they expressed not only a good outline of a thing, but even the *feelings* of an animal—such as the expression of pain and the realistic paralysis of the hind quarters of a lioness wounded in the spine by an arrow.

Further, with regard to the breath of the nostrils being considered the ‘breath of life,’ it was natural in a measure to do so; as when a man gradually died, the breath of his nostrils gradually died away also. The Assyrians, however, were accustomed to wars, cruelties of all sorts, cutting off people’s heads, hunting wild animals, slaughtering cattle for their food and for sacrifices. And it would appear absurd to suppose that they had not early learnt that *blood* had a good deal to do with life, and that pouring it out caused death. Of course they may not have had any idea of the connection between blood and breath, but they could not have helped connecting the two in some way.

Now, in connection with the view I have taken of the cone-fruit held in the hand, the passage in Lenormant’s note, viz., that “Frequently also this cone is presented under the nostrils of the king, that he may breathe it,” may have a totally different significance, from what has been thought. The supposition I have hazarded is that the cone-fruit held in the hand is a *citron*, and not a fir-cone. I think I have shown that it *could* have been known to the Assyrians, and perhaps it would not be very rash to state that it *must* have been known to them at a very early period, con-

sidering that 300 years B.C. Theophrastus had seen it (the Persian or Median apple) and described it with great precision, and stated it was then common in Persia and Media.

The citron has an *exquisite perfume*. It is enough to scratch a fresh citron with the finger-nail to bring out its delightful odour. Its perfume is striking, even to modern civilized minds; what would it not, therefore, have been to the Assyrians—this novel and rare fruit, with *such a perfume*? They would naturally present it in temples and to kings, so that they might enjoy its perfume. All Orientals, even of the present day, are extremely fond of perfumes, and the stronger these are, the better they like them. They like *ottos*, and not diluted scents. Natives of India think very little of flowers which have no strong scent. Their favourites are the otto-rose, the jessamine, the tuberose, orange-blossom, and overpowering perfume of the male flowers of the *Pandanus odoratissimus*, which they call “Keonla,” and which, by the bye, on the female plant produces a large cone-like fruit, hence its English name *screw-pine*. They present the male flower of the latter (only a mass of stamens) to great persons.

The Assyrians placing the cone-fruit under the nostrils of the king therefore strengthens very considerably the view of its having been a *citron* presented to the king's nose, so that he might enjoy its delightful odour.

Then, as to its having been always presented point forwards—as if they were acting magnetically on the king—let any one take a large citron (or any similarly-shaped object) in his hand, and see how he would naturally hold it—(a) either with the base lying in the hollow of his hand, and the point directed towards the ceiling—(b) or if he presented it towards any person or object, he would hardly present it in any other way than point forwards; and if two persons were to be drawn as presenting a citron to a sacred tree, one on each side, symmetry would require that the artist should show them point towards point.

Finally: I think it a mistake in Lenormant to call this cone-fruit either a pine or a cedar. The pine and the cedar are so different in their habit, foliage, and cones that they cannot possibly have been mistaken one for the other by the realistic eye of the Assyrian artists. It appears to me that, judging only from the sculptures, there is no evidence that the Assyrians had any other coniferous tree in their country than a *true pine*, although there appears no doubt that the *wood* of the cedar of Lebanon was well known to them.

It would be very interesting to search out the reason why the word *citrus*, the citron, is so much like *cedrus*, the cedar. Can there possibly have been any mistaken connection between the two things? Galesio (*Traité du citrus*) says that it was Pliny who first commenced to call the citron by different names, viz. *Malus Medica*, *Malus Assyria*, and *Citrus*. Before that it had always been called the Persian or Median apple. Why Pliny called it *Citrus* Galesio does not say. and I have not yet been able to discover satisfactorily the exact reason.

I may here note that Rumphius, in his *Herbm. Amboynense* (M DCCL.) Vol. II, p. 99, writing on the Citrus, says: "Placet hic annotare discursum Philologicum—de origine vocis citri ex Bauhino, libr. I, cap. 25, ubi judicat hunc fructum in sacra scriptura innui per *Etzadar*, i. e. ramum arbores speciosæ, quem Israelitæ adhibere debebant in festo Tabernaculorum unde et Chaldaicum nomen hujus fructus *Extragin*, in singulari *Etog* et *Etrog*, et inde Arabicum *Atrog*, a quibus nominibus Græci forsitan fecere *Κίτρος*."

And at p. 100: "Omnes hæ arbores (uti alii quoque id monent auctores) ab antiquorum citro differunt, quod in Mauritania prope montem Atlas dictum, crescit, ac species est oxycedri, quæ folia, fructus, odoremque, cupresso simillimum gerit, ex testimonio Plinii, libr. 3, cap. 15, ex cujus ligno antiquioribus temporibus pretiosæ fabricabantur mensæ—mensæ citreae et citrinae diætæ, quæ juxta varias figuras maculasque dividebantur in Tigrinas, Panterinas, et Apiatas."

E. BONAVIA.

THE P'U-YAO KING.—A LIFE OF THE BUDDHA.

[An Extract, translated from the Chinese].

KIYEN I.—SECTION 1.

DISCOURSES ON THE DESCENT OF THE SPIRIT (OR, THE DIVINE BEING).

I HAVE heard thus: Once on a time Buddha was residing in the country of She-wei (Sya-vaste) at the Jctavana (wood of *Chi*) in the garden of Análha peṇḍada) (the friend of the orphans) with the assembly of the great Bikshus, in number 12,000, and of Bodhisatwas 32,000 in number, all of them arrived at the perfection of Divine wisdom (*lit.* complete in wisdom of the great Holy Spirit), subjected to only one (more) birth, on the eve of attaining the supreme condition of Buddha, perfected in the paramita of charity, of moral conduct, of patience, of energy, of wisdom, thus arrived at the highest point of perfection, able to

understand that all things (all phenomena) are but as a delusive mirage, or a shadow or a vain echo, like a plantain branch for strength, like a phantom or a dream, as empty of reality as the figure of the moon in the water; fully understanding the vanity of all personal experiences, whether of pain or reproach, and whether of joy or renown. Thus, for ever freed from all worldly attachments, enabled by their spiritual faculties to cross through the three worlds like the light of the sun, having obtained the accomplishment of the prayers of all the Bodhisatwas in escaping from the evils of various births, perfect in all the virtues of a Bodhisatwa, fixed in the way so that there is no further point of excellence to attain in all the regions (10 regions) of existence—such were these: their names were Maitreya Bôdhisatwa, Dharanisvarâja Bodhisatwa, Sinhaketu Bodhisatwa, Siddarthamati Bodhisatwa, Prasantacharitamati Bodhisatwa, Pratisamvimprapta Bodhisatwa, and others,¹ to the number of 32,000, the above-named being chief.

At this time the world-honoured, in going through the city of Svavast received at the hands of the king of the country, the great ministers, the nobles and people, offerings of every kind, clothing, food, bedding medicines—and in whatsoever place he stopped the fame of his condition was spread abroad far and wide by all, who announced him as the Tathâgata, the supremely True the possessor of perfect Wisdom—who had illustriously undertaken to save the world, and was its Highest Teacher—the Lord of men and Devas, who, as the world-honoured Buddha, was able to declare the truth in its aspect as highest, middle, and lowest, and was thoroughly versed in the pure mode of life practised by the Brahmana; it was at such a time as this, at night, that the denizens of the Suddhavaśa Heavens whose names were Tsih-yen-tsun (*Iśvara*) Shin-miau-tien (Mahesvara), Nandana, Sunandana, Chandana, Mahita, Prasanta, Vinitesvara, and many others, all possessed of rare dignity, and each resplendent with glory, so that they lit up the Jetavana with their brightness; and thus coming to the place where Buddha was, they bowed low at his feet, and then, standing on one side, they addressed the world-honoured in the following words: “We have heard that there is a Sûtra named *P'u-yao*, belonging to the class called Vaipulya, which accurately distinguishes the origin of all the virtues (gifts or endowments) of Bodhisatwa, how he descended first from the Tusita heaven to be incarnated as a Divine being in the womb of his Mother, how he dwelt thus in her womb resplendent in glory, how afterwards he was born into the world, how he was named Siddartha, and how he dwelt in the palace of the women immersed in all sensual indulgences, how he was distinguished in athletic exercises, how he

excelled in book-learning, calculations, &c., even to the throwing of the elephant and other exhibitions of strength, how he exhibited in himself all the excellencies of a Bodhisatwa down to the conquest of Mâra and the attainment of perfect enlightenment. Such are the circumstances related in Sûtras of this character, endless in number, connected with the history of all previous Buddhas, who have come into the world to declare the law, ---such as the Buddha Padmottara, &c.²; and such are the circumstances relating to the history of the world-honoured which we now entreat him to relate in full."

At this time Buddha remained silent, signifying thereby his willingness to declare fully the circumstances alluded to, on which the various Devaputras, understanding his willingness so to do, were filled with joy, and having bowed reverently at his feet, they circumambulated the place three times, and then, whilst heavenly flowers fell as offerings around the person of Buddha, they suddenly disappeared, and returned to their heavenly abodes.

And so it came to pass on the morrow, when all the Bodhisatwas and the Sravakas were assembled and collected as a congregation around the preaching-Hall called Kia-li (Khârîka ?) that the world-honoured one addressed them thus: " Bhikshus ! yesternight, in the middle period of it, the Devas of the Suddhâvasa Heavens and all their companions having assembled round me and adored my feet, with clasped hands addressed me thus: ' Would that you would for the sake of all (men) fully expound the developed Sutra called P'u-yao, and thus cause the assembly of hearers to experience lasting gratitude. At this time I remained silent, thereby declaring my willingness to do so; on which the Deva-putras, being filled with joy and exultation, suddenly disappeared and returned to their heavenly abode. Whereupon the entire assembly, having heard this news, filled with joy standing before Buddha, addressed him thus: " Oh! would that thou, god among gods, would'st fully comply with the request." On this the world-honoured one addressed the assembled Bodhisatwas and the Sravakas: " Listen then, and carefully attend to what I say and consider it well, for now on your account I will recite the most excellent narrative containing the history of all the Buddhas, fit to enlighten all men, called the fully-developed " P'u-yao " Sûtra, found in the Law (or composing a part of the Law) (Dharma). Now at this time Bodhisatwa was resident in the heaven called Tusita, revered by all who beheld him, having arrived at perfect emancipation from future change,³ dwelling amongst a hundred thousand Devas, who all invoked his

name, perfectly acquainted with the prayers that were offered up throughout the universe, thoroughly versed in the sacred Laws of all the Buddhas, pure without taint, possessed of highest wisdom, having the eyes of knowledge, the thoughts and memory fixed, from days of old exhibiting the character of perfect Holiness (Holy Nature) to the shame of those who had not yet controlled their thoughts, exhibiting in himself the highest degree of charity, moral obedience, patience, perseverance, meditation (yih sin) profound wisdom---deeply versed in methods for saving men, possessed of infinite love, pity, joy, and power of defence⁴, knowing perfectly the way (traces) of Brahma, endowed with perfect spiritual power (miraculous qualification), completely arrived at a condition of perfect enlightenment without any darkness at all, possessed of entire abnegation of self, and endowed with all the faculties of the highest wisdom⁵ (i. e. the *Bôdhi pakchika dharma*), his body beauteous with the marks and signs of a great personage, arrived at perfect independence (self-existence), guided by perfect rectitude and distinguished for consistent conduct, glorified by the praises of Brahma, Sakra, the four kings, the great Isvara, Nâgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas: expert in the distinction of the beginnings and endings of every kind of discourse, able to explain all that had been spoken by previous Buddhas, embarked in the boat of perfect knowledge and crossed to the other side of the twelve seas, able to deliver and save the whole body of men, to conquer Mâra, to detect error and to destroy all opponents. Thus surrounded by innumerable Devas and Devis, dwelling in their paradise there were heard sweet sounds as of music and words to the following effect were hymned by invisible choristers:---

Let the abundant sounds

Of his accumulated merit and his virtuous conduct be voiced forth;

His heart, radiant with goodness and truth,

Beams forth the glory of the highest wisdom.

On every hand are seen the innumerable vows he has made (to bring deliverance);

Regardless of all personal consideration;

With certainty distinguishing the causes of all error;

The beginning and ending (of the careers) of all the gods;

His mind pure and without taint;

No accumulation of worldly faults and impurities.

He has put away for ever the three poisons,

And completely extinguished anger, envy and hatred;

Thus cleansed from every fault

His heart is like the shining gem,

From olden times till now

Constantly loving and rejoicing in charity,

The burthen (echo) of the sound (of his conduct) has gone forth
 from every creature (tribe or family)
 How he has reconciled in one, the qualities of moral obedience, calm
 reflexion, and active conduct,
 Virtuous energy, meditation and wisdom.
 How he has obeyed in practice innumerable laws.
 Let the sounds as to the countless names.
 Embracing the teaching of countless Buddhas,
 How they have pitied the case of all men,
 And looked forward even to the present time.
 How they have perfectly exhibited their knowledge of the beginning
 and the end,
 The taint of old age and death:
 How in their lives they have seen through the limits of all existences,
 Of Devas, Nāgas and evil spirits,
 How they have caused joy through ages innumerable,
 Men being never weary of hearing them,
 Nor irresolute in (the practice of) true wisdom;
 How they have fed the hungry and supplied the wants of the thirsty.
 How the high and the eminent
 Have rejoiced in Religion and forsaken the cravings of desire;—
 Himself without fault,
 He had pity on Devas and men,
 So that countless of the heavenly host
 In hearing the Law have heartily received it,
 So that they have chanted his praises in laudatory verses.
 Beholding the miseries of all the Hells,
 His eye has remained pure and untainted,
 Beholding the Buddhas of the ten regions,
 He has heard and received this Law,
 This Sutra honoured by men :
 Living among mortals, he produced every illustrious virtue ;
 Living in his palace in the Tusita heaven,
 He is exhibited as the great Loving One
 Who causes his good-will to fall as rain on earth :
 He has transcended the world of Desire
 And the countless higher worlds of Form ;
 All these are filled with joy and peace,
 In knowledge of the exalted and fortunate Buddha :
 It is he who has subdued the works of Māra,
 It is he who has pacified and converted all other Teachers ;
 The wisdom of Buddha as a man who beholds the marks of the palm,
 Now is to be traced and marked out ;
 The world full of trouble and evil
 Is now being sheltered by the clouds of the Law :
 The sweet dew of life is now to be poured out abundantly,
 All the pollutions of men and of the Gods are to be washed away,
 The Divine physician understands all cases
 And dispenses his medicine to sooth and to heal :
 He will point out the three doors of escape,
 And firmly establish the resting ground of unselfish action :
 As the roar of the Lion

Terrifies all inferior creatures,
 So the sound of the Teaching of our coming Buddha
 Destroys and silences the sound of false doctrine:
 In his hand he holds the shining cuirass of his vow (to save)
 Forth stretches the destroying sword of his determined energy,
 Before his eyes he holds the collected wisdom of his teaching:
 With these he triumphs gloriously over all the followers of Māra,
 The four kings of Heaven even now standing at a respectful distance.
 Desire to present to him the costly alms bowl,
 Innumerable Lords of Heaven and Brahmas
 At his birth come to worship him,
 Observing the sacred words of the Lord.
 All the high and well born families
 Follow after the steps of the Honoured Teacher.
 All the Bodhisatvas
 Come to his wordly dwelling place:
 Bright gems insurpassable in glory.
 The spotless Māni jewel,
 These rain down from heaven to earth:
 The sounds of gorgeous music
 Voiced forth in countless lays,
 Thus exhort to action, and encourage the loving thought.
 Calling on him to consider and weigh well the present time.

S. BEAL.

NOTES.

- 1) I have omitted the names of three older Bodhisatvas, not being satisfied as to their Sanscrit equivalents.
- 2) The names of the Buddhas are the same as those in the Lalita Vistara.
- 3) The Lalita Vistara gives "having received solemnly the supreme power," but the Chinese compound "O-wei-yan" seems to be an equivalent of "Avi(vart)am," "he who does not return."
- 4) The Tibetan seems to differ—the fourth of the four "great qualities" being rendered "indifference;" the Chinese is distinctly "defence." L.V. 10.
- 5) The repetitions in this section are so numerous, and the technical terms so obscure, that I have not been able to render it intelligibly in every case.

S. B.

(To be continued).

[On the *P'u-guo King*, see *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of February 1887, vol. I, p. 58.]

*WHEAT CARRIED FROM MESOPOTAMIA TO EARLY
CHINA.*

WHEAT indigenous to Mesopotamia was carried by the civilized leaders of the Bak tribes in the twenty-third century B.C. to Northern China, where, though not indigenous, it is mentioned at the beginning of history. Such is the 37th of my sixty proofs that the ancient civilization of the Flowery Land was borrowed from that of Western Asia¹, and that one proof which the following remarks are intended to develop and finally establish.

* *

When the Bak² tribes ancestors of the Chinese, arrived at their new country, i. e. North China, to which they had been attracted by the long-famed reports of the fertility of the land³, they set to work at irrigation and agricultural pursuits, with a determination of purpose which shows experience and knowledge on the part of their leaders. The great feats of engineering which were subsequently recorded in the Book of History⁴ under the name of Yü-the-Great, were begun long before (and continued long after) the time of this great man, and tradition has preserved the names of several of his predecessors.⁵ The importance of the works and the skilfulness displayed in their execution, with the exception of the cases of Kung and of the father of Yü, who was unsuccessful in his labours⁶, imply a traditional experience which could not have been obtained in China since the time when their first leader, Nai Huang-ti, otherwise Nakhunte, had but arrived to finish his career at Ning⁷, on the threshold of China, after having led his followers through Central Asia along the Kuon-lun range.⁸ They had certainly brought this knowledge and experience with them from their former quarters in Western Asia.

Agricultural traditions are deeply interwoven with the mythic legends which the Chinese have preserved from olden times anterior to their coming into their present country. Shen-nung, the divine husbandman, is one of the prominent figures of the Chinese list of mythical kings which is simply a version of the Babylonian canon⁹, and his legend, even in its details, is clearly the same as that of Sargon of Chaldaea. The two stories are only one legend of one and the same man, as we shall see directly. The Assyro-Babylonian legend may be resumed as follows: Sargon (i. e. Sargann, Sargina, Sarrukinu) king of Agadé, did not know his father. His mother was related to the rulers of the country. He was

born in the city of Azupirannu, on the banks of the Euphrates; his mother placed him in a small ark of reeds daubed over with bitumen, and abandoned him on the river. Ahhi, the irrigator, saved him and brought him up as a husbandman; he prospered in his occupation, and finally took possession of the throne. He subdued small kingdoms southwards to the Persian Gulf, and also the Elamites, the Gutti, &c. He rebuilt several temples; he built Uruk, &c.¹⁰

Now let us turn to the Chinese traditions to which I have added in brackets several suggested identifications:

Shen-nung¹¹ (= Sargon) or the Divine-Husbandman, also called the great Husbandman King or Hwang nung, did not know his father, and his family name was *Kam*¹² (Kami ?) from their residence. His mother was from the family of the rulers of *Anteng*¹³ ((Anzan ?), and her name was *Nhemi*.¹⁴ He was born at *Tam-dam*¹⁵ (same meaning as *Azu-pirannu*), and grew up near the *Kam* river. He received the teachings of *O-ko* (Akki), and became also denominated from the name of *Wu-kut*, also written *E-Ket*¹⁷ (*Agulê?*) and from that of *Letsam*¹⁸ (Larsam?) which he inhabited for a time. He established himself in *Tchen* (Singar ?) and afterwards at *Kohbut*¹⁹ i. e. crooked hill; but the people of *Sohsha*²⁰ (Susa = Elam ?) rebelled against his orders; he turned his arms against them and subdued them. He built the town of *U-luk*²¹ (Uruk ?). He died at the age of 120 years (one soss ?) and was buried in the great sands.

The whole of these deeds of Shennung is gathered from the several fragments of his legends which have been handed down from olden times through several ancient writers and compilers, of the times before and during the Han dynasty, i. e. two thousand years ago. Allusions to this hero are frequent in the oldest literature, and the variants of spelling in the proper names belong to the class of those which come from the transcription of the olden Kuwen texts into the more modern system of spelling. On the other hand the many names, geographical and personal, of Babylonian resemblance, while showing the syncretic character of the collection of souvenirs here reported and attributed to one and the same man, prove without the slightest doubt, though blighted by ages and repetitions, the primeval origin of the legend from Babylonia.²² Shen-nung, as the inventor of agriculture, is stated to have sown the five kinds of corn:²³ and every year in his honour at the vernal equinox, in his temple at the capital²⁴, the Emperor, assisted by princes and ministers, performs the widely-known ceremony of ploughing the soil and sowing the five kinds of corn. These are rice or *tao*, wheat or *meh*, spiked millet

or *kuh* (*Setaria italica*), sorgho or *shu*, and soy bean or *shuh*.²⁵ There are some doubts among native scholars as to the spiked millet or *kuh*, which they say has been substituted for the panieled millet, or *tsih*. But the matter is unimportant, and perhaps no substitution has taken place at all, inasmuch as *kuh* was formerly employed in the sense of corn or cereal, and may have been applied to any kind of them.²⁶ The oldest list of the five cereals named individually is that which is contained in the Book of Poetry. The passage occurs in the traditional legend of Hou Tsih, who had the direction of husbandry under the Emperors Yao and Shun (circa 2100 B.C.) and is still at present worshipped as the God of Agriculture. The poetry dates ten centuries before the Christian era:²⁷

- “ When he (Hou Tsih) was able to feed himself,
- “ He fell to planting soy beans.
- “ The beans grew luxuriantly;
- “ His rows of paddy shot up beautifully;
- “ His hemp and wheat grew strong and close;
- “ His gourds yielded abundantly.”

Further on the millet is mentioned:

- “ He gave his people the beautiful grains:--
- “ The black millet, and the double kernelled,
- “ The tall red and the white.”²⁸

The last statement is the more remarkable as that one sort of millet is indigenous in the regions North²⁹ of China; it shows that the director of husbandry had made himself acquainted with this native corn, and taught the newly arrived Chinese the value and use of it. And it is to be remarked that no statement of the same sort is made about the other plants whose cultivation is mentioned as a matter of course, because they were already known to the immigrants. Soy beans, indigenous also in the North,³⁰ and rice, the natural food of the country, had no doubt attracted the attention of the new comers as soon as they arrived in the Flowery land, and were added by them to wheat which they had imported³¹. The importance attached by them to wheat was such that it was looked upon as a present from Heaven. Witness another extract from the Sacrificial Odes of the Tschou dynasty in the Book of Poetry, probably composed somewhat earlier than the foregoing quotation:

- “ O accomplished Hou-tsih,
- “ Thou didst prove thyself the correlate of Heaven,
- “ Thou didst give grain-food to our multitudes;--
- “ The immense gift of thy goodness.
- “ Thou didst confer on us the wheat and the barley,
- “ Which God appointed for the nourishment of all.”³³

The statement there is quite plain, and puts out of doubt that the

introduction of wheat and its congener the barley was attributed to this officer of one of the earliest rulers of the Chinese in China.

It has been well ascertained by the specialists that wheat is not indigenous in the Middle Kingdom. We know now that it was imported by the Bak tribes from Western Asia. The various statements and legends which we have quoted or referred to show this cereal to be connected with their earliest traditions long before the time of their migration to the East.





* * *

Mak, 麥³⁴ the common Chinese symbol for 'wheat,' is a compound ideograph which has remained unaltered since the oldest time that we know of its existence in the writing, taking into account the more or less of stiffness of its component parts and strokes as required by the successive styles of the writing³⁵. Its sound is the same word as the Magyar *mag*, corn, the words of the type *bug*, *bog*, for wheat in the Turko-Tartar languages³⁶, the Japanese *mugi* and *baku*, the Corean *maik* and *mir*,³⁷ the Tibetan *pag*--all meaning wheat, the Mandshu *pelge*, grain, &c.


This symbol *mak* is made of two characters 來, about which much has to be said, and 夂. The original value and meaning of the latter is lost, and the shape it has assumed is that of an altogether different character³⁸, which has attracted it by its similarity of shape. I am unable to say, for this reason, if the compound ideograph *mak* was originally the same as the Sumero-Akkadian complex read *ittu* and *amaru*, which we shall have to mention below. But anyhow, in Chinese the unknown component seems to me to have been a phonetic, whose sound began by *m* or *b*, which may be restored from the part it plays in several complex phonetic characters³⁹. Is it possible that the Sumero-Akkadian *amaru* should belong to the same word-family as the Mandshu *pelge*, the Corean *mir*⁴⁰, and all those of the wide extended and perhaps impoverished type *k-m*, *m-g*, *b-g*. It is not impossible that the word the Chinese wanted to express phonetically by the compound *muk* should have been *malek* or the like, afterwards deteriorated by the dropping of the medial *l*, seeing that one of the two component parts of the symbol was expressing the labial initial, and that the other, of which we have now to speak, was simply *lok*. But this is a conjecture.

Lak 來 is a simple ideogram⁴¹ which was employed, as we have seen in another paragraph, in the Sacrificial Odes of the Tchen dynasty, with its original meaning of 'wheat' given by Heaven and introduced by Hou Tshih, the manager of husbandry for the Emperors Yao and Shun at the very beginning of the settlement of the Bak tribes in China. This

meaning is borne out to a certain extent by the pictorial appearance of the symbol which in its Ku-wen form, and not without apparent reason, is said by the Chinese themselves to have represented originally a kind of grain with awns like (wheat) barley, &c. The following seem to be the parentage of this word *lak*: the Mongol *tarija* 'wheat,' and the words *turik, tari, tara* of the Turko-Tartar languages for 'millet';⁴² and still better, the following words for 'rye': Finnish (root) *rukii*, Esthonian *rugis*, Wotiak *rüis*, Vêpse *rugis*, Livonian *ruggos*, Lapp *rok*, Mordvinian *roz*, Tscheremiss *rša*, Zyriamian *rudzeg*, Wogul *räsch*, Magyar *rosz*;⁴⁴ and the words for 'wheat': Vêpse *rugis*, Finnish *rüis*, Ostiak *oros*, &c.⁴⁵ All these affinities made it quite clear that the Chinese Bak tribes, whose original language was cognate to that of the Ostiaks, or at least belonged to the Ugro-Finnish family, did possess the word *lák* or the like for some sort of grain, and applied it to *wheat* when they were made acquainted with that cereal by the extension to them of the civilization from Chaldaea and Elam.

Sé, written  in Assyrian  in Babylonian, is the Sumeru-Akkadian for 'wheat,' as the corn *par excellence*, and figured in its original hieroglyph an ear of corn.⁴⁶ Its Assyro-Babylonian sound was *um*, or better *sé-um*, by a juxtaposition of the Sumeru-Akkadian and Semitic sounds. But there is some uncertainty as to the accuracy of such a meaning as that of 'wheat' or 'ear of corn'; as in compounds it is used as an ideograph meaning 'growing, advancing.' Such, for instances,  (*uz, ucu*⁴⁷ to go, to run?), a complex ideograph made with the addition of the symbol for 'bird,' *Hu*, an association which may be at the same time suggestive of the sound, as *shu* and *se* may well suggest *ucu*. Such also is the compound *TIR*,  'forest,'⁴⁸ made with the addition of *xir*, 'set up,' and which is perhaps an ideo-phonetic compound, with the first character (*sé*) mute and suggestive of plant or trees, and the second character (*xir*) phonetic and suggestive of the reading *tir* (*v=t*). It is this other process of formation which of all became the most important in the gradual multiplication of the Chinese characters. This, and especially the above instance of phonetic composition, may appear strange to Assyriologists and to scholars trained to more precise systems of phonetic expression. But in the early days of phonetism and predominance of ideographism the phonetic renderings did not rest on anything like a rigorous analysis as a basis, and was only attempted in a clumsy way by mere approximation and suggestions, imperfect and incomplete. Of course, in some of the many instances of the kind which appear to us in

these ancient compounds we might, in our ignorance of the motives which guided the sylet of the scribes in their selection of the characters, infer more motives than they had in point of fact, but the number of such cases is too numerous for not being often an intended result, in phonetic and ideo-phonetic compounds.

In my paper *On the Old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives*, I have shown, with illustrations, that the old or the new form of the Chinese character *lay* mentioned above is exactly derived from the old Babylonian form of . It is, therefore, needless to reproduce here the illustration again, nor the remarks which their palæographical peculiarities have required.

* * * *

The natural growth of wheat in Mesopotamia is certainly one of the causes which have made this country one of the, if not the earliest cradle of civilization. Also De Candelolle, in his most valuable researches on the *Origin of cultivated plants*, has collected with care and sifted with great acumen all the historical and modern information, legendary and scientific on the subject.⁵⁴ And his researches show that wheat was, and is still, aboriginal in Mesopotamia, from whence it has been spread in the surrounding countries, thus upholding the statement of the Chaldaean historian, Berosus.⁵⁵ His sole difficulty was that concerning China, where wheat which does not grow in an uncultivated state, and therefore is not indigenous, is mentioned since the earliest times.

It is very gratifying, for the purpose of the present article, to note that the eminent Swiss scholar who wrote without knowing anything of my discovery of the West Asiatic origin of the Chinese civilization should have been led to a somewhat similar conclusion in suggesting that seeds of wheat were introduced into the North of China by isolated and unknown travellers⁵⁶. The migration of the Bak tribes from the borders of Elam to Northern China is the historical fact which does away with this temporary hypothesis which the exigencies of the case had required.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

NOTES.

1) Cf. *Babylonia and China* in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, June, 1887, vol. I, pp. 114-115. Cf. also my previous articles: *The Old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives*, *ibid.* March 1888, pp. 73-99; *The Tree of Life and the Calendar Plant of Babylonia and China*, *ibid.* June, pp. 149-159.

2) In modern Chinese *Peh sing*, erroneously explained as the hundred families. Sinologists may compare such names as *Li min*, *Yao jen*, *Tchung kia*, &c. The Ethnic Bak was preserved in W. Asia in the names of Bactriä or Bakhtan, Bakhtiyaris, Bagdad (on the Michaux stone), Bagistan (Bag or Bak + stan = land of the Bak). Mr. Boscawen points out, also the name of an Elamite ruler called *KhumbaBak mes*

nagi, i. e. 'Khumba of the land of the Bak tribes.'

3) Cf. *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, sec. 13.

4) In the chapters known as the *Yü Kung*, or Tribute of Yü.

5) For instance in the *Tso tchuen*, *Tchao Kung*, Xth year, 10 sect.

6) *Shu-king*, yao tien, sec. 10 and 11.

7) On the common south borders of Kansuh and Shensi. Long. 107° 51', Lat. 35° 35'.

8) There are not a few legendary traditions concerning the whereabouts of Nai Hwang-ti in the Kwen-lun range.

9) Cf. *The Chinese Mythical List of Kings and the Babylonian canon* (The Academy, Oct. 6, 1883); and *Traditions of Babylonia in early Chinese documents* (ibid. Nov. 17, 1883).

10) Fox Talbot, *A fragment of Ancient Assyrian Mythology*, Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch. t. I, pp. 271--280; Fr. Lenormant, *Les Premières civilisations*, t. II, pp. 104--110. A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, pp. 26--27. *Cuneif. Inscr.* W. A. vol. III, 4--7.

11) 神農. Shen-nung as a corrupted form of Sarru-Kinu=Sarganu=Sargina, stands in comparison to Shinar=Sennaar and Singar=Sungiri. His mother conceived him through the influence of a heavenly dragon.

12) 姜姓. The *Sing* of *Kung*, anciently *Kam*.

13) 姜登. Another version gives 女 for the first symbol.

14) 任姒. *Nhanti* in Sino-Annam. *Jen-si* in Mandarin. Cf. to this name that of the Sumero-Akkadian *Namit*, goddess of fate. F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 120.

15) 常羊. Another version gives 蒙羊. 16) 芻荷.

17) 鬼魁 or 伊耆. 18) 崑崙. 19) 陳 and 曲阜. 20) 夙沙. 21) 子魯.

22) The details of the legend of Shen-nung are found in the works of Tchwang tze (B.C. 330), Wen-tze (?), Shé tze (280 B.C.), Lü Pu-wei (237 B.C.), Hwai-Nan tze (150 B.C.) and Hwang Pu-mi (A.D. 250).

23) In the *She Ki* or 'Historical Records'.

24) Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (1883) vol. I, p. 78.

25) E. Bretschneider, *On the study and value of Chinese botanical works, with notes on the history of plants and geographical botany from Chinese sources*, Foochow, 1870, pp. 7, 8, 9, 45.

26) Cf. *Tai ping yü lan* Cyclopædia, Bk. 837, f. 1-8.

27) Cf. J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. IV, proleg. 83.

28) Trad. Legge, *ibid.*, pp. 468, 470.

29) The spiked millet. Cf. Alph. de Candolle, *O. C.* p. 380. The common millet or *shu* and the sorgho, indigenous from Egypt and Arabia (and therefore known in Chaldaa, &c.) must have been carried to China. Cf. same work, pp. 378, 382.

30) A. De Candolle, *O. C.* pp. 330--332.

31) It had been thought that wheat and rice were both indigenous in China, but the fact is only true for the second of these two sorts of corn. Proofs have been sought for in the Chinese records with the following results. According to the geography of the Tang dynasty, in A.D. 874, near the town of Pun-lu, in the department of Ts'ang (still of the same name in the province of Tchihli) wild rice or *yi tao*, and aquatic spiked millet or *shui kuh* were growing on more than 150 acres of land; starving people of Yen and Wei ate it. "In this case the misapprehension had arisen from a wrong translation made of the word *kuh*, which is not the wheat, but the spiked millet indigenous in China. Another case of

misapprehension has come from a statement made by the *Poh wuh tche*, a short cyclopædia by Tchang Hwa, A.D. 232--300, a native of Fan-yang, near the present Peking, as follows: "On the sea there is a plant called *she*, of which the seeds taste like barley, and which ripen at the seventh month; they are commonly called 'spontaneous grain' or 'extra rations of Yü.' The *she* had been wrongly supposed to be a sort of wheat, while it is now described (W. Williams, *Syll. Dict.*, 758) as a floating marine plant, probably a kind of *Zostera*, or sea-wrack. *Hui shang*, 'on the sea,' has been also mistaken for the name of a place. The two texts are quoted in the learned work of Dr. Gustave Schlegel, *Tranographie chinoise*, p. 767, but without reference for the second and for another purpose than that for which they are given here.

32) *Shi-King*, Part IV, Bk. I. (1) Ode X. The expression used there for wheat is 來 *lek*, which may or may not be older than *mak* mentioned *suprà*. It occurs also in the first Ode of the second series of the Sacrificial Odes of Tchou.

33) Trav. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV, p. 580. For the date of composition, cf. proleg., p. 83.

34) In Pekinese *Mai*, Mandarin *meh*, Sinico-Annamite *mak*, Cantonese *mak*, Shanghai *mak*, Foochow *mek*, Amoy *bek*, Sinico-Japanese *baku*, &c.

35) Cf. Min Tsi-Kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, Bk. 10, f. 1.

36) Cf. Hermann Vambery, *die Primitive cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*. Leipzig, 1879, pp. 214--215.

37) The Japanese *baku* and the Korean *maik* are probably borrowed words from the Chinese. Cf. below, note 40.

38) *Khang-hi-tze-tien*, p. 199. This character seems to have been 文, simply a variant of *wen*, the 67th radical.

39) Such as 麥, where it would be suggestive of the initial as in *mak*, in accordance with the most usual practice of phonetic composition in Ku-wen: and 麥, 慶, &c., where it would be suggestive of the final.

40) M. Edward Harper Parker in his interesting, though not altogether scientific paper on *The "Yellow" Languages* (in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1887, vol. XV, pp. 13--49) looks on the Korean *msl* or *mir* as a local alteration; he may be right if I am wrong in the remarks above. The chief objection I make to this paper is that the author compares on one and the same footing Korean and Japanese words (not always genuine) with words from one or the other of the Chinese dialects without taking into account the respective ages of these dialects and their different sorts of phonetic alteration.

41) And not a compound as wrongly suggested by the Rev. J. Edkins, *Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters*, London, 1876, p. 83, from the unfortunate tendency to analyse chemically the symbols into their strokes, a process similar to the decomposition of the words into letters' which may be seen with all its inconvenience and lack of the sense of historical etymology in Dr. J. Chalmers, *The structure of Chinese characters after the Shwuh-wan*, 100 A.D. (London, 1882).

42) *The structure of Chinese characters* after the *Shwuh-wan*, p. 154; Min Tsi Kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, Bk. II, f. 4; cf. also *K'ang-hi tze-tien*, s. v. p. 9, f. 14 v.; and p. 199+8, f. 17.

43) Cf. Hermann Vambery, *Die Primitive cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, p. 215.

44) Cf. Dr. August Ahlqvist, *Die Kulturwörter der Westjännischen Sprachen*, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 37. The word is largely spread among the Aryan languages of Western Europe: Swedish *råg*, old Norse *rugr*,

Slavonian *rož*, Lithuanian *rugys*, Lette *rułsi*, &c. Cf. *ibid*.

45) Cf. Ch. E. de Ujfalyy, *Essai de grammaire vâpse outhoude*, p. 151 of *Revue de Philologie*, t. II, 1876.

46) Cf. Theo. G. Pinches. *B. & O. R.*, vol. I, p. 10.

47) No. 177 A. M. made of 176 and 23 of the same. Cf. T. G. Pinches. *Sign list*. Nos. 177, 175, and 30: Ménant, *G. A.* Nos. 180, 174 and 212.

48) No. 178 A. M. made of 176 and 66 of the same. Cf. T. G. Pinches. *Sign list*, Nos. 180, 175, and 122; Ménant, *G. A.*, Nos. 181, 174, & 346.

49) *B. & O. R.*, March 1888, p. 87. Reprint, p. 15.

50) *Origin of the cultivated plants*, pp. 354–361, and the various authorities quoted therein, and in his *Geographie Botanique*, p. 931. The suggestion of Prof. Gabriel de Mortillet, *Le Préhistorique*, p. 580, that wheat may have come from spelt cultivated, does not agree with the facts quoted by Dr. de Candolle, *Origin*, p. 364.

51) Berosus, *Fragments*, I. edit. Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Berose*, p. 6. Paris, 1872.

52) A. de Candolle, *O. C.*, p. 357.

T. de L.

[P. 187, l. 26 : read *amaru* for *amavu* : l. 28, *m-k* for *k-m*; l. 33, *lak* for *lök* : l. 36, *Tchou* for *Tehen*.]

MAN HAN SI-FAN TSYEH-YAO,
A BUDDHIST REPERTORY
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.
(Continued from p. 165).

PART I.—SECTION II.

Sku gsum gqi miñ-la. Han beye i gebu.

THE NAMES OF THE THREE BODIES.¹

1. *Dharmakāya*: body of the law. T. *c'os-sku*, do. M. Ch. do.
2. *Sambhōgakāya*: body of enjoyment. T. *Loñs spyod rdzogs pai sku*, body of complete, perfect² enjoyment. M. Mg. id. Ch. body of enjoyment.
3. *Nirmāpakāya*³: body, incarnation of productions, manifestations. T. *sprul-pai-sku*, body of transformations. M. body of changes. Ch. body of creations and transformations.

NOTES.

1) These three notions are differently interpreted by the different schools. The Mahāyānists, for whom Void is the Supreme Principle, see merely abstract ideas in them. The Buddha, once entered into Nirvāna, is as it were dissolved in the element of Void: his body does not even exist any more as an apparent and distinct entity; merely an abstract notion of it remains, personified in the Law of which he was the Agent, and in enjoyment, the condition of existence in Nirvāna. Buddha has for body only this Law, *dharma*, and this supreme enjoyment which he represents, and hence the two first 'bodies.' The *Sambhōgakāya* also

represents the abstract beings, Bodhisattvas, &c. who have entered Nirvāna.

The *Yogācāryas*, recognizing a soul, see in the *Sambhōgakāya* the condition of happiness obtained by the soul in consequence of its pious life.

The *Nirmāṇakāya* is for the pure Mahāyānists the visible body, assumed by Buddha to preach the Law. For others, it is a magic body, assumed at will by the Buddhas and superior Bodhisattvas in order to become visible, to work miracles and to labour for the propagation of the Law and the salvation of men.

These terms are also explained otherwise, as representing three states of man upon earth. The intellectual essence is the *Dharmakāya*. The consciousness of the intelligent state is the *Sambhōgakāya*. The putting in practice of the intellectual views is *Nirmāṇakāya*.

Or again: the intellectual principle which enlightens all minds, that which causes all form to be seen, and that which confers existence and its different transformations, constitute the three *Kāyas*, sometimes represented as a sort of trinity or trinity.

Nirmāṇa is also said to be the human body of Buddha, and *Sambhōga* his substance perpetuating itself and passing from one state to another in the different existences.

2) Renders the Sanskrit *saṃ*.

3) Properly: body of creation, transformation.

SECTION III.

Mts'an-sog n̄is kyi miñ-la. Gōs̄in juwe laksan⁴ i gebu.

NAMES OF THE 32 EXTERIOR QUALITIES, OR DISTINCTIVE TRAITS OF BUDDHA.

1. *Ushāśhaṅgiraṣka*: having on his head a diadem-shaped protuberance or a conical tuft of hair.⁵ T. *dbu gtsug t'or dañ ltag ba*, having a tuft of hair on the top of the head. M. the head perfectly ornamented with the *ushyika*. Ch. having a piece of flesh like a head-dress on the head.
2. *Pradakshīṇyajātaḱeṣa*; wearing his hair in tresses⁶ turned towards the right, or well arranged. T. *dbu skra gyas su khkyil ba*, hairs in ringlets, tresses turned to the right. M. Ch. hair surrounding the head in an elegant (*hao*) manner. Min. *pradakshīṇavartak*.
3. *Dirghāṅgulī* [read *dirghāṅgulī*]: having long slender fingers. T., *sor-mo-riñ-ba*, long-fingered. M. Ch. long, slender fingers.
4. *Jurṇyakēṣaurṇya⁷*: (slaggy like old hairs,) having between the eyebrows a line of pale hairs like hoary locks. T. *mdzod spu*, having a ring of hairs. Ch. with white hairs between the eyebrows. M. *jātakēṣorṇā*.
5. *Abhinīlanētra*: with dark blue eyes. T. *Spyan mthon-mth̄in*, with eyes looking like indigo blue. Ch. with eyes of the colour of a bluish metal.
6. *Gōpāksha*: with eyes like ivory⁸ (?). T. *Rdz̄i-ma bai lta ba*, with a shepherd's eyes. Ch. with eyebrows like an elephant's. M. *gōpakshma*.
7. *Catvāriṅṣadanta*: with forty teeth. T. *Ts'ems bz'i hcu m̄na ba*. M. having forty slender teeth.
8. *Samulanta*: Hodgson, *ṣamacatvāriṅṣadanta*. T. *Ts'ems m̄nam pa*, having equal teeth. M., Ch., Mg. having well-arranged teeth.
9. *Aciradulanta*, having teeth without intervals. T. *Ts'ems lhag bz̄aṅ*,

- with well-made intervals between the teeth. M. teeth arranged in order. Ch. close-set teeth.
10. *Suṣukladanta*: with very white teeth. T. *Ts'ems gin-tulkar ba*, id.
11. *Rasurāsāgrata*:⁹ whose mouth tastes of the aroma of a delicious juice. T. *Ro bro pai mchog dañ ldan-pa*, whose teeth taste of the best taste. M., whose saliva has a high flavour. Ch., in whose mouth the saliva has a high flavour.
12. *Sinhahānu*: lion-jawed. T. *hgram pa senge hdra-ba*, with jaw-bone like a lion's. Min. *siñhahānu*.
13. *Prabhūtatannujīva*: with long, slender tongue. T. *ljags gin-tu riñs z'iñ srav* [read, *srab*] *ba*, -id.
14. *Brahmasvara*¹⁰: whose voice is like Brahma's. T. *Ts'ans pai dbyans*, with *Ts'ogs pa's* voice. M. Mg., with *Ersun's* voice. Ch. with *Ban's* voice.
15. *Sāpavrttaskandhu*: With well-rounded, or well-turned shoulders. T. *dpuñ mgo gin tu zlum pa*. M. with well-rounded armpits. Ch. *mah*, full.¹¹
16. *Saptōdadpada* [read *Saptōtsāda*¹²]. T. *mdun* [read *bdun*] *mtho-pa*, with seven high [protuberances]. M., with seven high and full points. Ch., with seven full or swollen points. M. *saptōsada*.
17. *Citāntaranpa* [read *rāñṣa*]¹³. T. *zla goñ rgyas pa*, tall, with broad shoulders. Ch. M., Mg., with round, full shoulders.
18. *Suśmaccharis*: delicate skinned. T. *lpagspa srab pa*. id. Ch. delicate soft skin. Hodgson, *ṣukla-c*.
19. *Suvarṇaccharis*: with golden skin, or beautifully coloured-skin¹⁴. T. *yser ndog hdra ba*, golden skin. M. Ch., colour of polished gold and purpled. (Hodgson, *suvarṇavarṇa-c*., with the word 'colour' expressed.
20. *Sīñhapurārdhākāya*. with the breast ('front part of the body') of a lion. T. *Ro ston senge hdra ba* with the fore part of the body of a lion.
21. *Nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala*: with [the body] rounded, well made, like [the body] of the Nyagrodha¹⁵. T. *Ḣiñ rnyu gota lgar chu z'eñ gab pa*, id. M. Mg. with the body well-made and stout, like the tree Naijuda. Ch. of beautiful, well arranged, fully rounded form.
22. *Ekāikarōmapradakṣhiṇyavartta*: each of whose hairs [of the body] is turned to the right [or aright, gracefully]. T. *Spu re-re-nas skyes giñ gyas phyogs su khijñil ba*, id. Ch. id. M. do. gracefully turned.

NOTES.

The 32 distinctive signs and the 80 beauties of Buddha are the object of a long dissertation by Burnouf in his *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, pp. 557-621. Naturally many things were obscure at that time which are no longer so. We cannot discuss all the details of this long study, but will confine ourselves to a few remarks.

1) The *lakṣhaṇas* (§ III.) are distinguished from the *Nairya*, or *anurayañjana*, in this, that the former are the distinctive marks which the Buddha must bear; the latter, features of beauty belonging to mankind in

general, and of which Buddha had to have the highest expression.

2) Burnouf discusses and often opposes the particular explanations of Remusat, and is often at a loss to explain their origin. As said above, Remusat got all this from the Chinese version, which he did not always understand correctly. Thus, in § III, No. I, *ushyāśhaçīraska*, Remusat translates 'hairs gathered in a knot upon a fleshy swelling on top of the head.' Burnouf remarks that the text does not contain these two ideas. Quite true, but Remusat deduces them from the Ch. 頂肉髻. As for this term, the Buddhists appear to have diverted it from its primitive sense, and to have made it into an elevation of the skull, whence rises the flame of intelligence.

4) Remusat argues upon the sense of this word, which is simply a transcription of the Sk. word *lakṣhaṇa*, "distinctive trait," employed by the Buddhists in this meaning. Hodgson's list has *çyañjana*.

The Buddhists have in all ages attached a great importance to the exterior qualities of Buddha. They have attributed to him all the features which constitute in their eyes, not a god, but the heavenly Man, and which are likely to draw all minds and hearts to him. This was in their eye a means of persuasion and conversion. In their legends we find kings sending to one another figures of Buddha as precious gifts, and the mere view of these figures converting princes. Buddha in a state of contemplation is the favourite figure. The *Lalita Vistara*, ch. vii. gives the 32 principal signs and the 80 secondary signs which the Buddha must possess. Our work sees in these: 32 *lakṣhaṇa*, or distinctive marks (sect. iii.), and 80 manly beauties (sect. iv.). These are not quite the same as in the *Lalita Vistara*. Hodgson, in his Essays (90, 91) also gives a list, without any explanation. He refers them to the Adibuddha. They are arranged in a different order, and several are completely different from ours. In the list of the *lakṣhaṇas* four are altogether different, viz. 8th *Rjugaṭra*, with straight lines; 12th *paṭarubāhu* [read *prthu*], broad-armed; 25th *prastambasa* [read *prastambha*], stiff firm; 29th *haṃsarīkrāntavikramī*; which respectively take the places of our nos. 6, 14, 25, 29. The last is also found about the 80 beauties, and thus occurs twice over. Several other terms differ in accessories. In sect. iv. *paṅgūli* is wanting in Hodgson, and some terms have striking difference. Those deserving note will be seen later on. All these terms are, in Hodgson's Essay, abstract nouns.

5) The second is the more ancient conception (see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 558), preserved in Tibet. The Sk. word indicates a kind of turban.

6) Beautiful tresses were already an attribute of Çiva. Hodgson has *pradvīṅgaçartakaroma*, 'each of whose hairs turns to the right.'

Pradvīṅga indicates the direction of the curls. The *Lalita Vistara* adds "curls of a deep black, of a dark blue, like a peacock's tail, or like collyrium with alternate reflexions."

7) This is one of the traits reckoned as the most important, an ominous sign of the supernatural power of Buddha. Hodgson has *urpālan-kṛtamukha*, with face adorned with shaggy hair.

It is from this down that go forth the miraculous rays illuminating the worlds and announcing them to the Buddha.

8) The Sk. can mean shepherd's eye, elephant's eye, Kṛiṣṇa's eye, wanting in Hodgson. See note 4.

Here again Burnouf says, speaking of Remusat's translation ('eye-

lids like the king of elephants'), "I do not know on what authority." It is on that of the Ch. version *zho siang wang*, which means little more than 'elephant' alone. The Ch. joined the two syllables *gôpa* as one word; and this word in Sk. also designates the elephant. Same remark in No. 5 for *abhinâlanâtra*, cf. *t'sing kin*, Remusat 'blue-black metal,' in 11, for 'highly flavoured saliva': lit. 'who has the sense of taste in the extreme.'

9) Read *vasarasagraha* (?), whose taste (sense of taste) has the most agreeable sensations, tastes the best of fluids or juices; having an exquisite taste in his mouth.

16) With a voice strong and powerful as Brahma's; or who is the voice himself, the expression of the thought, the mouthpiece of Brahma, *Svarâ*, sound, as the expression of thought, was the first wife of Brahma, according to the *Çabdâkalpadruma*. The Tibetan has *t'sogspa*, which must be corrected into *t'sanspa*, the Pure One *par excellence*. *T'sogs pa* is Ganeça. *Dbyaṅs* is 'melodious sound.' The Mandchu-Mongol Esrun is said to be derived from *Içvara* = 'Dominus.' All this is very uncertain. Ch. Ban, nowadays Fan, is an imitation of the sound. The word designates also Magadha; and Fan-yen is Pâli.—Wanting in Hodgson.

Brahmascara, the Southern lists add, "with the voice of the bird Karavika."

11) Hodgson: *Susambhṛta*, which explains the Tibetan.

12) Cf. Burnouf, *Lotus*, 568. Hodgson *Saptôcchanda*.

Saptôtsâda. The authors of our vocabulary have written *p* for *s*, as is often the case, and the *t* separated from what ought to have been *s*, has given rise to *ta* (*dâ*). These seven protuberances are on the hands, feet, shoulders, and head. The 'seven fulnesses' of Remusat are again taken from the Ch. *chu mran*, which means rather 'full in seven places well rounded.'

13) The Sk. word signifies rather breast, *antarâṅsa*, between the shoulders. Perhaps *antarâṅga* should be read. Hodgson, *antarâṅga*.

14) According as *Sucarṅga* is taken in the literal or figurative sense.

15) The *ficus indica*, with its strong and long branches and broad leaves, often mingled with the *f. religiosa* in plantations, the tree of Buddha, *Nyagrôdhaparimaydala*. Remusat really translates 'full and sufficient majesty,' after the Ch. *yong-i-mran-tsuk*, which is rather 'whose form is suitably rounded and well developed: *mran-tsuk* is to render *parimaydala*.

Burnouf supposes *ûrdhdhâgra*, whose extremity, &c.

Remusat does not understand this, as he misses the Ch. *ma yin tsong*.

(To be continued).

C. de H.

ERRATA IN No. 7.

Read, in title, *miñ* for *min*; No. 3, *bzîn-gcegs*; 7, *bar gcegs*; 11, *s'tha*; 12, *pa-kum*; 10, 11, 34, 44, 53, *ba* for *qa*, *bo*, *bu*, *ha*; 15, *drañ sroñ*; 17, *mcog pa*; 18, *hdren*; 19, *gsuñ*; 20, *gtsañ*; 21, *bcu*; 23, *c'en*, 25, 32, ad. r. *ḡbhu*; 30, *siñha*; 37, *mñon*, *shâd*; 38, *kṛt*, omitted, *srid mthar phyin*; 36, 55, 27, *ñg*; 42, *mc'og ba*; 44, *mña-ba*, *viragha*; 46, *mña*; 50, *dpe*; 51, *gsam*; 55, *gyjun*; 57, *cuñ*. P. 172, read *raimanshân*.

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

ESARHADDON II.

HAVE Assyriologists drawn all the advantages they could, for the history of the last days of the Ninevite empire, out of a little tablet already published in Vol. III. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (pl. xvi, no. 2), under the title: *Tablet of Daughter of Asshur-ebil-eli son of Asshur-bani-pal?* It is a very short letter, but full of questions, addressed by a princess *Sherûa-eterat* to another princess of the royal house, by name *Al-Asshur-sharrat*. It is conceived in these terms:—

*Avît mârat šarri ana
(aššatu) Al-Aššur-šarrat,
Atû tuppiki lâ tašattîri!
Imbuki lâ taqabbî!*

5 *Ulâ iqabbîâ*

*mâ: "Annîtu û bêlitsa
ša (aššatu) Šerûa-eterat,
mârtu rabîtu ša Bit-ridûte
ša Assur-etil-ilâni-ukînni,*

10 *šarru rabû, šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar mât Aššur?"*

*U atti mârat dannat, bêlit hîti ša Aššur-bân-abil,
mâr šarri rabû ša Bit-ridûte
ša Aššur-ah-iddîn, šar mât Aššur.*

I translate thus:

Order of the daughter of the king to
Al-Asshur-sharrat.

No longer write thy tablets
and no longer speak thy words!

5 Lest they should say

thus: 'This is she then the mistress
of Sherûa-eterat,
great princess of Bit-ridûte
daughter of Asshur-etil-ilâni-ukînni,

10 great king, powerful king, king of nations, king of Assyria?'

But thou, thou art the powerful princess, the mistress of the house
of Asshur-bân-abil,

great prince of Bit-ridûte,
son of Asshur-ah-iddîn, king of Assyria."

The great difficulty to the complete understanding of this tablet is in the lines 3 to 5, and principally in the word *imbu*. Perhaps this word

must be explained as a nominal form, with aleph prefixed, of the root *nabû*. *Imbu* would then be for *inbû*. Cf. for the alephprefixed: *iptîru*, *iqribu*; and for the change of the nûn into mîm: *tambî*, *tanambî*. In line 3, *atâ* is very probably, as others have recognized before me, the Hebrew עֲתָה “*nunc, jam.*” In line 5, *ulâ* is certainly the Hebrew אֲרָלָה; see Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 225. There is concerned, therefore, in our little document a question of authority between two princesses of the royal house, of whom the elder or the higher would have felt herself wounded in her rank by some writings or words of her inferior or cadet, and would have ordered her to cease.

But the meaning of the lines in question is only accessory to the conclusions at which I wish to arrive. Whether we adopt my translation or prefer another to it—that, for instance, given by Dr. Sayce in 1877 (*Babylonian Literature*, p. 78)—I shall be satisfied provided only it is admitted that we have to do with an order given by a person in authority. Now, this point seems to me scarcely doubtful, as our letter opens thus: *Arît mârat šarri ana Al-Aššur šarrat*. We know that *arît* (or *abît*) signifies “decision, order, will”; see Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 21 and 22, note 2). And in fact all the other letters which, to my knowledge, commence with this word, or its synonym, *arât*, are letters emanating from the king. K. 95: *Arât šarri ana Bêl-ibnî*, (S. A. Smith, *die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, II):—K. 486: *Arît šarri ana ummi šarri (ibid.)*;—K. 312: *Arât šarri ana nišê mât Tamdîn (ibid.)*;—K. 824: *Arât šarri ana Sintabni-abê (ibid.)*;—K. 96: *Arît šarri ana Nabâ-šarru-ušur* (Strassmaier, under word *abat*):—K. 533: *Arît šarri ana Mannu-Kî-Rammân (ibid.)*. Evidently the daughter of the king, author of our letter, could employ the formula *arît* only in regard to a person over whom she had authority.

We see, if my translation is correct, that it is precisely this authority which is the object of the letter. Why does Sherûa-eterat (such is the name of the king's daughter in the opinion of all translators) prohibit Al-Asshur-sharrat¹ from writing and speaking as she has done? She tells us herself. It is that no one may be tempted to ask himself: “Is she (i. e. Al-Asshur-sharrat) the mistress of Sherûa-eterat, great princess of Bit-ridûte, daughter of Asshur-etil-ilâni-ukinni, great king, powerful king, king of nations, king of Assyria?” And she adds: “But thou, thou art the powerful princess, mistress of the house of Asshur-bân-abil, great prince of Bit-ridûte, son of Asshur-aḥ-iddin, king of Assyria,” what seems to me in short to mean: As to thee, thou art that, but nothing more.

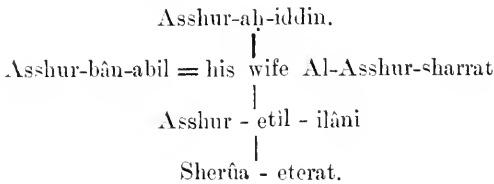
(For my translation of *amûtu* ū l. 6, see Halévy, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1881, t. xvii, p. 555.—In the same line, one might think of reading *aḥûtsa*

instead of *bélitsa*; but the general sense is unfavourable to that reading.)

What is the meaning of the two titles of "great prince (literally : great son of the king) of Bit-ridûte," and of "great daughter of Bit-ridûte?" If we had only the first title, we should think that in Assyria it was given to the hereditary prince, and that it was analogous to the appellations of Prince of Wales or Dauphin. But the fact that a daughter of the king was called "great princess of Bit-ridûte" proves rather that we must see in it a general title given to all the royal children, like that of Infant of Spain. Cf. WAI, V. pl. 1, l. 23 to 34; pl. 10, l. 51 ff., and especially l. 59 to 65.

More embarrassing are the qualifications *mârat dannat, bêlît bîti sa Aššur-bân-abil*, given to the princess Al-Asshur-sharrat. Is the reference here to a daughter of Asshur-bân-abil? I think not; for we should not then be able to understand the second appellation of *bêlît bîti*, "mistress of the house," which appears to me to apply to a "wife," and which we may compare to that of *aššat êkalli*, meaning "queen," literally, "lady of the palace." See WAI, I, 35, N^o. 2, l. 9; II, pl. 53, c. 5;—S, 1034, l. 7, in the PSBA, IX. 245;—Strassmaier, N^o. 880). *Mârat*, in the passage now before us, has rather the meaning of "princess," like *mârtu rabîtu* in l. 8.

I now reach the chief information furnished, I believe, by the letter of *Sherûa-eterat*. Every one has hitherto admitted that the three princes named there are the three known Sargonides, Asshur-aḥ-iddin, his son, Asshur-bân-abil, and his grandson, Asshur-etil-ilâni. Let us also admit a moment. The family relationship of the two princesses will then be as indicated in the following table:



We shall thus obtain the sufficiently surprising result of seeing a young princess give, according to my translation, orders, according to that of Dr. Sayce, spelling lessons to a queen-dowager, her grandmother; at least, to a king's daughter, her aunt, should the words *mârat dannat bêlît bîti sa Aššur-bân-abil* signify "daughter of Asshur-bân-abil," what I do not believe probable. Nor shall we find without considerable surprise that Sherûa-eterat gave their title of "king" to her father and great-grandfather, while she only described her grandfather as "great prince of Bit-ridûte." Asshur-bân-abil, however, reigned likewise

appears there only as prince-royal, not as king. And nothing prevents us from believing that this Asshur-bân-abil, afterwards seated on the throne, should be the Sardanapalus who is represented to us by several Greek historians as the last king of Assyria. Then again, even without taking into account an Asshur-bân-abil II, three kings in succession filled the throne of Assyria after Asshur-bân-abil, son of Esarhaddon I: X-zikirishkun, Asshur-etil-ilâni, and Esarhaddon II. Since we admit that Asshur-bân-abil reigned from about 668 to 626, who would then dream of placing the fall of Nineveh in 625? Evidently the Assyrian empire could not have come to an end before 606. Although this last date is now generally preferred, I may be permitted to advance in its favour a proof which I have nowhere found pointed out.

It must be remembered that we know the fixed succession of Assyrian eponyms only up to the year 667. But we possess besides, as much from the fragments at the end of the Canon, the exact position of which is not determined, as from separate documents, the names of a sufficiently large number of such officers, who, although we cannot attach a date to them, belong without doubt to the reigns of the last kings of Assyria. The lists given by George Smith, in his *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, allow us to reckon 48 of them. This number already brings us lower than 625, as far as the year 618, and it is very probable that the lists are not closed. Will it be objected that the Assyrians may have continued to count by eponymes after the annexation of their country to Babylon, where they reckoned by the years of reigns? That would scarcely be probable. But there is more than that. Among the 48 eponymes posterior to 667, three bear the title of *abarakku*. As the *abarakku* was one of the great officers whom custom called to the eponyme at the beginning of each new reign, three *abarakku* strongly testify to the existence of three successive kings. Up to the present time only two of these three kings have been recognized without dispute: the reader will judge if I have succeeded in furnishing a useful argument in favour of the third, Esarhaddon II.

ARTHUR AMIAUD.

NOTES.

1) I do not believe that in this name the words *Al-Asshur* and *sharrat* can be separated. A woman could not be called "the city of Asshur" quite short; but very properly "the city of Asshur is queen."

2) It is with the reign of this Esarhaddon II that I would connect the edition of the addresses published in the W. A. I., IV, pl. 68.

3) See Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 384; and note this phrase: "This prince (Asshur-etil-ilâni) in a broken record which I recently discovered, tells us that when Assurbanipal died he himself was not called to the throne, but he ascended it at a later period." A. A.

*AN ASTRONOMICAL OR ASTROLOGICAL TABLET FROM
BABYLON.*

As is well known, the British Museum possesses a large class of tablets which have been, as yet, but little studied. There are many reasons to account for this, and probably the principal are, that they are unattractive, difficult to copy, still more difficult to read, and unpromising even if it were likely that a satisfactory rendering could be obtained. And here I may remark, that I make no pretention whatever myself to be able to translate these difficult texts. Like others, I have "fought shy" of them, and should not venture to bring one forward now, were I not of opinion that it is of greater value than the majority of its class; and did I not hope that it might, perchance, when published, fall into thoroughly competent hands, and that a ray of light might be thrown into a very dark corner of Assyriology.

The text in question is inscribed on an oblong tablet of baked clay, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in. The obverse has four columns of writing, mainly consisting of numbers, divided into about seventeen paragraphs or sections, separated from each other by ruled lines. The top right-hand corner and side are considerably damaged, slightly injuring and making imperfect the first section of the second column, destroying the whole of the first section and part of the second section of the third column, and the greater part of the fourth column, of which, as it is a short one, the remains of 6 lines are all that are left. The reverse, however, is almost perfect, and has 22 lines of writing which extend across the whole tablet; and are not divided into columns. The writing on the reverse is divided into six sections, of which the last is the most important.

The subject of the obverse is difficult to determine—all I can do is to give certain of the more evident points, sufficient to indicate the probable nature of the contents, leaving it for others more competent than myself to complete the work.

The text begins with a line which formerly extended right across the tablet, but which is rendered incomplete by the break. What is left reads "The 7th year of Cambyses" The next line—the first line of the first column—begins with the sign


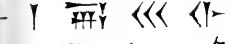

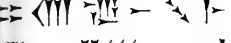
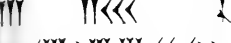
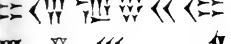
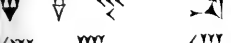
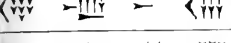










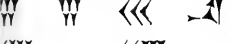
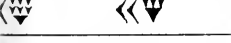
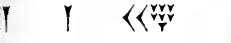




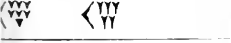



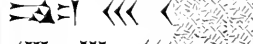


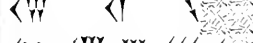


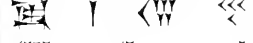


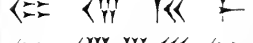

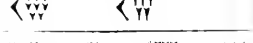

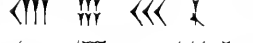





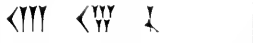






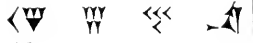



















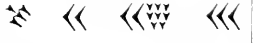

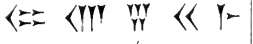


































✚, equivalent to $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ ✚ (for $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$) = *Nisannu*, "the month Nisan," and is followed by signs and numbers referring, apparently, to astronomical or astrological matters ✚ \llcorner (for $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ ✚ \llcorner) = *Aaru*, "the month Iyyar," comes next, and is followed by \llcorner , equivalent to $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ \llcorner (for $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$) = *Siwannu*, "the month Sivan." The column ends with the sign for Tammuz (\llcorner , for $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ \llcorner , the character for month, which is generally prefixed, being left out throughout the text).

It will be seen from the above that in the first column the months follow on in order, and in the second and third columns this system is continued, and we have $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ (*Abu*, *Ab*); $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ (*Ululu*, *Elul*): $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ (*Tisritu*, *Tisri*); and $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ (*Arah-sammu*, *Marcheswan*). Leaving out the last section, and going to the third column, we find the section for $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ (*Kisiluu*, *Kislen*) lost, and that for $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ (*Tebtu*, *Tebet*) mutilated, $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ (*Šabatu*, *Sebat*), and $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ (*Adaru*, *Adar*) next follow in order; and at the end of the second and third columns we have the section treating of $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ \llcorner (*Adaru mahru* or *makru* = *Ve-adar*) divided and placed thus probably in order not to begin the fourth column with the last of the list of months. The fourth column, which is written on the very edge of the tablet, sometimes extending almost to the reverse, probably contained additional information as to certain months. The last paragraph, as will be seen, begins with the character $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$, which I have transcribed *še*, but which may be intended for *Adaru* (*Adar*) the name of the month in the corresponding section in the foregoing column.

As for the characters and numbers (other than the names of the months) it is difficult to give any certain indications as to their signification. *Dir* means "to fill," "to destroy," "to stretch out," &c., also apparently "grey," "dusky"; *ši* (which may also be read *igi*) means "eye," "front or "before," and "to see" or "to appear"; *ina ša harrau* possibly means "according to the road;" the meanings of *nu* are "he" or "that," "stone," and "to answer;" *ni* means "night" or "dark;" *me* means "libation." &c., "command," "voice," "bright," and is used, in Akkadian, to express a certain pronoun and some interrogatives; *šu* means "to destroy," "to set, of the sun," &c., *ina* means "in;" and *ša* means "of" or "from," also "to make," &c. For all the possible significations of the above-named characters, however, we have not space here.

I append herewith a complete transcription of the obverse, and shall be glad to answer any question as to possible improved transcriptions and readings of the characters, which are not always certain even for the numbers,—usually so clear in Babylonian and Assyrian texts.

78-11-7, 4. (OVERSE).

<p>                             </p>	<p>                             </p>	<p>                             </p>	<p>                             </p>
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Adar, in the 7th year of Cambyses, is mentioned in connection with it. "Nisam 13," in the 8th year, is also mentioned in the last line of this paragraph.

The third paragraph refers to a star represented by the characters $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$, the months and days being "Elul 3," "Tisri, 13," "Ve-Adar," apparently, and "Ab 29" of the 8th year.

The fourth paragraph refers to the star $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$, *Muštābarrū-mātunu*, the months and days being "Iyyar 28," "Elul 13," "Ve-Adar," and "Ab 12" in the 8th year. The 9th year is also mentioned in connection with "Iyyar 9," and the word "king."

The fifth paragraph apparently refers wholly to the 7th year, and mostly to the month Tisri, the name of this month occurring at the beginning of five of the seven lines of which the paragraph is composed. The first line of the paragraph contains the number "93," and refers to (the star) $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ (*Gūt-tam*): the second line contains the number 23, and refers to *Sag-me-gur*; the third has the number 29, and mentions *Dilbat* or *Dilmu*. ($\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$): the fourth has the number 12 and refers to $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ (see the third paragraph) and $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ (*Šig-me-gur*): the fifth line contains the number 11, and mentions *Muštābarrū-mātunu* (compare paragraph 4 of the reverse), and mentions also *Šig-me-gur*; the sixth line of the fifth paragraph mentions "Marcheswan 2" in conjunction with $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ and $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ (*Dilbat* or *Dilmu*): and the seventh refers to "Tebet 5" in conjunction with $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ and *Dilbat* or *Dilmu*.

With the sixth and last paragraph we have something more interesting and certain, namely, a reference to two eclipses of the moon which took place in the 7th year of Cambyses. I give here a transcription and translation of the whole paragraph:--

- 19. Šattu sibittu, Du'uzu, mūšū irba-išrit, estin šinipāt kaspu šalmu ukīn
 - 20. Šin antalu innadar ša iši iriḫi ḫarnu ukīn
 - 21. Tebetu, mūšū irba-išrit šané bar kaspu, šalmu āna nūr iriḫi
 - 22. Šin antalu innadar ša manzazu u ḫarnu ina libbi ukīn
19. "7th year, Tammuz, night 14, 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ hour darkness was caused.
 20. an eclipse darkened Šin, which was partial, to the moon a horn it made
 21. Tebet, night 14, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours, darkness to the light of the moon.
 22. An eclipse darkened Šin, which a station, and a horn in the midst caused."

The above interesting notice is of great value, not only for the statement as to the eclipses, but also on account of our having here for the first time, the Assyrian word for "moon," *iriḫu* $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$, *i-ri-ḫi*, oblique case), the Hebrew יריח , as distinguished from the moon-god (Šin, $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$, or $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$) also mentioned in the above extract.

It is to be noted, that the above paragraph may contain predictions, and not records, of eclipses. THEO. G. PINCHES.

SHEN-NUNG AND SARGON.

THE very striking similarity which Professor T. de Lacouperie¹ has shown to exist between the Chinese legend of the husbandman king Shen-nung, and the Babylonian story of Sargon of Agadê seems clearly to indicate a borrowing by the early ancestors of the Chinese of this ancient story. The resemblance of the names in the Chinese version to those in the Babylonian is so close as not to be explained by mere chance. Striking as these are, I think they may be still more increased by an examination from the side of the Babylonian version. The family name of Shen-nung was Kam, which is the Sumerian Kam or Kham, "a family" (*Kimtu*)². The expression used in describing the parentage of the Babylonian king seems to me to have been mistranslated, and to favour more than at first appeared the identification made by Professor de Lacouperie, "My mother, my father knew not, my father's brother dwelt in the mountains (*irami sada*)"³, which perhaps points to a connection with Elam or Akkad. In the same way the two names of the birthplace and dwelling in early youth of Shen-nung seem to me to be capable of more definite explanation. He was born at Tam-dam, which must be Taudim, the sea province of Southern Chaldea⁴, a name which was borne by more than one dynasty of Babylonian kings. The name *Atsu piranni* I should render as "the outlet of the channels," that is, the mouth of the two rivers corresponding to the mythic region where the translated sage Samas-napisti dwelt. This region is thus described in the Deluge tablet *ina râki ina pi nuri*, "in a far distant place at the mouth of the rivers." A trace of this name and region so famous in Babylonian mythology appears to be preserved in the modern Arabic name of Abû Sharein, "the father of the two river mouths—the ancient Eridhu. The Chinese sage is said to have grown up near the Kam river. This name is surely the Sumerian *Kan* or *Kam*⁵, which is explained *nagabu*, "canal channel." *Klugalu*, "to fertilise," and must mean the irrigation canal. Now we know that the river of Sippara restored by Khammu-rabi was called in after time the "river of Khammu-rabi," the benefactor of men," and which was said to give perennial waters to the people of Sumir and Akkad. This stream was the great canal (Kam) *par* excellence of Babylonia, and was, no doubt, in legend associated with Sargina and his city of Akkad. I am more inclined to see in O-ho, the teacher of Shen-

nung, a corruption of Ea than the name of Akki, the irrigator. It is almost impossible not to admit the identity of the names E-ket, Letsam and U-luk with Akkad, Larsa and Unuk or Uruk. The connection between the dynasty of Sargon and the land of Elam is clearly indicated in the astrological omen tablet containing an account of the wars of Sargon and his son, Naram-sin, so that Sohsha may be Susa, which was a prominent city in the time of Kurdur Nakhunti, B.C. 2286. The connection between Shen-nung and agriculture does not find, however, much parallel in the legend of Sargon, who does not appear in the Babylonian legends as the husbandman—the only trace of such a mythic character being Isullanu, the gardener in the Sixth Gizdhubar legend, and indeed, it is strange to notice that there is no distinct god of agriculture in Babylonia. The goddess of the harvest was called Serakh, a name which is explained to mean “thrashing corn⁷,” or the whole name more fully “Lady + corn + thrash.” This goddess was probably another form of Istar as the great nature-goddess, she bearing the title of “the bringer forth of verdure,” the lady of the human race⁸. In this character she became the protectress of Sargon, the adopted child of the gardener Akki. Sufficient has been said in this short note to show that the resemblances between the legends of Shen-nung and Sargon are such as cannot be ascribed to merely chance similarities in the work of myth builders, but must indicate a close and intimate contact.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

NOTES.

- 1) *B. & O. Record*, vol. II, No. 8, p. 185. *Academy*, Nov. 17th, 1883, p. 334.
- 2) Sayce No. 416. See also *List of Royal Names*, *W.A.I.*, vol. V., pl. 44 line 21. where Khammu-rabi is rendered *Kintu rapastum*.
- 3) *W. A. I.*, vol. III, pl. iii. l. 2.
- 4) See canon, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* vol. VI. p. 199.
- 5) *W. A. I.* vol. IV. pl. 51 Col. IV. 30.
- 6) Sayce, No. 180.
- 7) Strassmaier, *Alp. Verzeichniss*, No 8303.
- 8) *Haupt. A. S. K.* No. 15. p. 116. line 8.

W. St C. B.

Our friend and collaborateur, Dr. Victor Revillout, has just issued the first fascicula (16 pp.) of a new work of his own, entitled: *Mélanges Assyro-Babyloniens*, vol. I, 4to. It contains the following papers: Notes archaïques de Sippara: Le caillou de Berlin (with eight pages of cuneiform text autographed): and: Annulation pour Ingratitude d'un acte de *Turbanutu* (Affranchissement). We cordially wish good success to the valiant jurist and Assyriologist.

T. de L.

NOTES ON THE WRITINGS OF THE LYCIAN MONUMENTS.
A.--THE LYCIAN WRITING.

THE comparison of the proper names in the bilingual texts constitutes, for the reading of characters traced in an unknown writing, an excellent ground of reasoning. *Moritz Schmidt* had understood it, and it is wonderful to see the help he draws for his decipherment of the Lycian, by the unending confronting of parallel examples borrowed from the inscriptions in one or other of the languages.¹ *Savelsberg*, applying the same method still further, increased the conquests of science in this mysterious domain,² and at the least it may be said that, thanks to these scholars, we are in a position to transcribe a Lycian text with a nearly satisfactory fidelity.

While Dr. Deecke, devoting himself to the same epigraphy, has considered under another aspect the question of decipherment³. According to him, it is necessary, less to apply oneself to the expression of the *vocal* reading, consequently varying by time, of the words engraved on the tombs and other monuments of Lycia, than to make pass into a known writing, that is to say the Latin writing, the characters of our inscriptions *impressed* in their phonetic primitive value. Now, do we know this primitive value? Can we assert that **E**, only to quote that letter, had at first been pronounced as at present, rather than *i*?⁴ Are we more assured of the pronunciation of **O**, and that it was *o*, *ó* and not *ou*?

Besides, a language is not accustomed to wrap itself in those bandages like a mummy. Although Dr. Deecke is unwilling to admit that **E** and **O**, because certain Lycians of the IVth century have given them the pronunciation of *i* and *ou*, ought to receive those transcriptions, I shall not reserve the question, and not write waiting, as he has done, *Pareklā* for *Perikle*, *Koprllē* for *Kuprllī* (= *Kυβερπυς* [κος], Herod. vii. 98), *Methrapata* for *Mithrapata*, &c. In the main, the two opposing systems nevertheless differ very little in their results, and I believe it is possible to reconcile them.

I repeat, then, my phrase at the beginning, where I stated, not without pleasure, that we were, since Schmidt and Savelsberg, in a position to transcribe a Lycian text in a nearly satisfactory fashion. It is at the same time to be admitted that the restitution of the alphabet is not complete: but since the work of the learned professor of Jena is not useless, we shall improve on it, and not destroy it.

I. THE LETTERS E AND I.

This Lycian writing on the monuments is looked upon by M. J. P. Six as relatively recent, and we dare not make it go farther back than the Vth century.⁵ Not only is its direction from left to right, apart from some retrograde legends on coins, but posterior to 450⁶—not only are the great majority of the characters, the same which Simonides knew, and with which the Athenians decorated their monuments, but still more, it expresses by a letter *each* vowel. In the Phœnician school the scribes of Lyciawould not have attached any importance to the vowel *a* represented by a sort of P with an angle, in place of the rounded loop, to *ε* represented by $\hat{\iota}$, to *i* expressed by E, to *u* (=ou) marked O. We should not have seen them write the silent *y*, which under the form I, is much inclined to prolong the iotacised sound of E. Above all, this semi-vowel, very analogous to *y* in the French word *bruyant*, would not have been introduced at every moment, under the pretext of linking two vowels together: $\text{ϜEΔ\hat{\iota}PEI\text{P}} = \text{ΣΙΔΑΡΙΟΣ}$ (Limyra 19), read *Sideriya*. It is clear that the Lycian writing is the daughter, and the last born, of the Greek. At the time when the Lycians had applied to the Athenians to obtain from them a character for the short *i*, which they did not confound with the ordinary vowel *i*, those latter gave them I; but what letter did they give them for the vowel *i*? The Lycian monuments reply: it was the letter E, which served to express that vowel.

That the diphthong EI would be pronounced, among the Greeks of the period *iy*, is the point on which I present the following examples :

1. The name of Darius, ΔAPEIΟΣ which is in no way explained, outside of a pronunciation *iy* affecting *εi*, and of a pronunciation *vou* affecting the second last letter. Only on this condition can there be any meaning given to the passage in the Persian form

$\overline{\text{D}}$	$\overline{\text{A}}$	$\overline{\text{R}}$	$\overline{\text{I}}$	$\overline{\text{Y}}$	$\overline{\text{V}}$	$\overline{\text{U}}$	$\overline{\text{S}}$	$\overline{\text{H}}$
D	A	R _I	Y _A	V	U	U	S _H	S _H

to the Greek form employed by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon.

2. The first of these writers, enumerating in ch. 98 of his VIIth book the small princes of the maritime districts, who commanded the naval forces directed by Xerxes against the Greeks, speaks of the Tyrian MAT-THNEIΠΩΜΟΥ "Mattan, son of Hyrâm."⁷ It is remarkable that Josephus calls the king of Tyre, whom he speaks of as the friend of Solomon or a man living at the time of the Achemenides, in the same manner as Herodotus $\text{E}\pi\rho\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\text{E}\pi\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$. I quote the first orthography before the other, because it is precisely thus that the Apion's opponent designs the

Phœnician chief of the Vth century⁹. On the other hand, however, the η of the Biblical name of הירם, and of the same name in an inscription,¹⁰ is transcribed by the LXX χ . Josephus also mentions the skilful workman χ ειραμος,¹¹ the namesake of the Tyrian prince in the Book of Kings. But may it not be that χ badly represents the aspiration of a vocalic sound η ? In any case, ϵ ρωμος read η ρωμος reproduces very closely the word הירם “*Hiróm.*”

Moreover, the value of the iota recognised by Schmidt in the Lycian character **E** is absolutely certain. There is nothing embarrassing here except the manner in which the name of Artaxerxes is written, if, moreover, it is concealed in the passage of the Xanthian obelisk. (*E.* side, l. 59).

“*Artaxēs Eraxhē.*” To reply to the objection from the use of an **E**, where one would have expected \uparrow (*Artaxerxēs*, genitive in the inscription of Mylasa), it is necessary to enquire whether the Lycians have followed, in this transcription of the Persian name, the Greeks rather than the Egyptians, who have left us the forms *ntarionsh* and *Artakshairsha*¹².

A single example in such a case cannot suffice to dissipate the acquired riches. Everywhere, besides, **E** is η ; we have seen **ΣΕΔΗΡΕΙΩ** = *Σιδάριος* of the bilingual discovered by Cockerell, and known under the name of *Linyra* 19. There are still **ΦΕΙΤΤΑ ΣΡΡΑ*** = *Φιζττασππα* (*Υστασπης*) and **ΜΕΧΡΗ ΡΤΡΑ** = *Μιθραπατα* (*N.* l. 49, *E.* l. 16 of the great Obelisk). A little time later, after 360, there is engraved on some monuments¹³ the name of the indigenous king **ΠΙΡΕΚΛΗ**, *Περικλής* of whom Theopompus has spoken, and which Polyan mentions cursorily.¹⁴ In 335 it is *Πιξωδαρος*, brother of Mausolus, who, under the name of **ΠΙΧΕΔΑΡΑ** (*Πιχέδαρα*) treats with the cities of Xanthus, Tlos, and perhaps Pinara.¹⁵ At an unknown period, **ΕΥΤΤΑ**, that is to say, *Ικτας* the Antiphellite, built his tomb (*Antiphellus*, 3). I shall endeavour, at the end of this notice, to demonstrate that the Greek-Asiatic name *Κυβερνίς* has not only been borne by a Xanthian or Patarean chief¹⁶ in 480 B.C., but also that it is the word on which the Lycian form had been traced in the new writing of **ΚΟΡΡΑΛΕ**, with **E** expressing the iota of *Κυβερνίς*. Let us cease, then, from an exclusive attachment to the form of the letters, to write *koprllē* and the name for the Ionians, **ΕΙΩΕΝΣΞ** “*Eiūnes.*”

Far from me be the thought of undervaluing the services rendered by M. Deecke by putting Schmidt's disciples on their guard against the temptations of his system. Exaggeration is unnecessary on any side. The Lycians were not successful more than any other people in faithfully

painting words; every age brings its own pronunciation, which often agrees no longer with the words, by-gones of the past. Yet, when we see the Lycians remaining faithful to the value of *i* recognized by Schmidt for **E**, on the inspection of their own bilinguals, we cannot do anything else than adopt this reading, strange as it may appear at first sight.

It matters not that at *Lewisu* the name of *Απολλωνιέης* had been written **ΡΡΟΛΙΝΙΔΡ** by an **I**, and not by **E**. how do we know if *i* is not short, or even if the Lycians were not disposed to pronounce it *Απολλωνέης*. Let us remark in passing that **I** appears indeed to have served also to separate two consonants belonging to two different syllables, as two vowels. Thus we have the name of **ΨΙΡΙΨΙ+** in Xanthus 8, or the *Chimæra Tomb*, unless indeed, as M. Six approaches me, my identifications of **ΨΙΡΕΥΑ** with *Γοργος* and of **ΨΙΡΕΨΙ** or **ΨΑΡΕΨΙ** with *Γόργω*, (a feminine noun) are nothing but chimerical ideas.

II. THE LETTER O.

How was *upsilon* pronounced? Probably like the Russian **У**, that is, *ou*. Thus we understand that the Lycians had written **OPTTEIP**, *Υρτιος*, (*Ourtiya*) **ΨΟΔΡΙ+ΕΛΡ**, *Κυεργήλος* (*Χουδrehila*) and **ΜΟΚΡΑΙ**, *Μυκάλη* (*Moukale*).¹⁷ The character **O** has nearly as often the value of *o*, which does not differ much: **ΡΡΟΛΙΝΙΔΡ** *Απολλωνιέης*, **ΕΙΤΡΟΨΛΙ** *Ιητροκλής*, at least as they had pronounced, as they would have done in the East by the same letter, "*Apoulênida, Iytronχle*." Here still the frequency of the transcription by *u* in the bilingual texts, and the great number of nouns having in Greek and Persian a *u*, but translated into Lycian by *o*, determine me to adopt Savelsberg's position.

I always, therefore, write *Apulenida, Arppaxus, Mullihiseh* (even in presence of **ΜΟΛΛΙΣΙΟΣ**, for in this *Levisu* inscription this scribe has distinctly used a special orthography where **O** is equal in his view to *o*: he gives us **ΕΑΟΤΩΝ** and **ΑΟΤΩΙ**).

That is enough for this letter. I do not propose to continue the discussion so well conducted by Schmidt and Savelsberg, but to revise their work, as far as a long personal experience will permit me. That is why I shall beg the reader to desire, in what concerns the readings of **Ρ** and **Ι**, to recur to the statement of the Aix-la-Chapelle Professor.¹⁸ I believe it difficult, and besides daring, to go further in everything that concerns the Lycian writing.

The subject appears to me to be exhausted for **+**=*h*, **Χ**=*th*, **Ι**=*z*, and not *ζ*.¹⁹ Let us only say a few words on **F** and **Ψ**.

III. THE LETTER F.

I write **F** as we are in the habit of doing, that is to say, *F*. But I pronounce it *v*, as the *nomen gentile* **FEITTAΣOPPIE** (*Fizttaspazñ*) obliges me to do there, Obel. North, l. 49, where we immediately recognize the name of the chief of the race, the Persian Hystaspes.²⁰

𐌺	𐌸	𐌺	𐌸	𐌺	𐌸	𐌺	𐌸
V	I	SH	T	A	S	P	A

M. Six, in an obliging communication, makes the remark to me à propos of the digamma, that the Greeks of the classical period had ceased to give it a distinct place in the body of the word, and that they considered it to be nothing more than a semi-vowel *w*. The Cypriotes, on the contrary expressed **F**; they had written **E-u-FA-ΠO-PΩ** the name of Evagoras, in the genitive. In passing into the Greek writing alphabetically, while *u* remained, **F** disappeared (*Evagoras*). Likewise, for Vistaspa, become by the loss of the digamma and the strange enough transformation, I confess, of *i* into *Υ*, *Υστασπης*. Now it is this **F** which the Lycian word presents, which is not inspired by the Greeks. Yet **O** is already *u* and *v* does not serve to represent **F**, directly drawn as its form attests, from the Cypriote syllabary.²¹ To escape all confusion which is scarcely remedied by the use of a *u* under-punctuated or provided with a trema, I believe **F** should be adopted, like *o* for **X**, and *χ* for **Ψ**.

IV. THE LETTER **Ψ**.

This last letter might be taken for a *g* in the names **APPIPAΔOS** *Αρπιπος*, **PEΨPΓ** (*Πιρρης*), and **MFΨA** *Μαγας*. But we are, nevertheless not deceived by this. There are here, as M. Six recalls his fine memoir on *les Monnaies Lyciennes*,²² *Πιρρης* and *Περρης* and doubtless there had been *Αρπακος* and *Αρπαγος*, according to Schmidt's conjecture that *γ* was changed into *κ* among the Cretans and their ancient colonists, the Lycian-Greeks.²³ Many peculiarities common to the two peoples (there is no question, well understood except as to the exterior form of the words in their inscriptions) have been set forth by the professor of the university of Jena²⁴. The sweetening of the *γ* into *χ* or *κ* is one of them.

At first sight, one would be tempted to distinguish from **Ψ** the sign **Ϸ** in the name **PEϷΓΔAPP** *Πεζωδαρος*. But **Ϸ** is in reality nothing except a purely graphic variant of **Ψ**, seeing we have the name *Ικτας* written **EϷTTA**, in Antiphellus 3. The remarks of M. Pertsch on this variant²⁵ have kept all their force. **Ψ** is equivalent to ζ, translated **π**. Not only do I admit this, but I even attach to the guttural aspirated *χ* of

of the Greek, this occasional value which permits it to replace the sibilant. Here are two examples:—

The Pharaoh of the IVth dynasty was not named *Képhrén*, but *Shufra*, and it is of the tyrant of the imperial epoch, *Achilles*, that the cartouche in hieroglyphics, *Ashils*, preserves to us the recollection.²⁶ Very likely the Lycians said “*Pich'edara*,” (the name is even written later *Πασεδαρος*²⁷ as Herodotus writes *Ch'êphrén*. J. IMBERT.

NOTES.

1) It is the Greek which, alone in the bilingual texts, plays the part of the Phœnician in the Semitic and Cypriote inscription of Milkiathon. The epitaphs of the 4th tomb of Antiphellus, the one Lycian, the other Latin, date from the two different epochs, and are not the translation of each other. The dissertation of Moritz Schmidt *Essay on the Alphabet and Language of the Lycians*, serves as introduction to the collection pp. 111—X, to *The Lycian Inscriptions after the accurate copies of Schönborn*, Jena, 1868.

2) *Das Lykische Alphabet*, pp. 8—22, of the first volume produced at Bonn in 1874, of his *Beiträge zur Entzifferung der Lykischen Sprachdenkmäler: Erster Theil, die Lykisch-griechischen inschriften*.

3) *Lykische Studien*, pp. 124—125 in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Dr. Adalbert Bezzenberger*, Göttingen, XII, 1886.

4) Even at a late epoch *ε* retained this primitive value of *i*, as is proved by the name of *Δομειτιανος* for *Δομειανος*, which we see in Josephus and in many writings of the time, such as the *Actes apocryphes des treize Apôtres*, published at Leipzig in 1881 by M. Tischendorf.

5) “But a repeated examination has led me,” says the learned Dutch numismatist, “to see in this alphabet nothing but a recent enough invention: it only began to appear on the coins in the Vth century.”—*Monnaies Lyciennes*, in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1886, p. 105, and in the Reprint, p. 5.

6) Such are the legends of Mutlœis (about 445) of Kuprlli (440—460) of *Teθθijjelei* (405—395) and of Ddenefele (395—380) in the notice already quoted by M. Six, Nos. 85, 153 to 136, 139, 153, 163, 171, 129, and 131, 217. The ligature Υ of No. 85 raises an interesting question; in the time of Mutlœis, had the Lycian writing been long practised?

7) Although the reading **ΜΑΤΤΗΝ** in place of **ΜΑΠΗΝ** has been recognized for a long time, certain editions of Herodotus, among which we regret to find that of Didot bear *Kai T'ÿrios Μαπηρ*. This is probably why this bad reading has been introduced: “Hoc ipsum (scilicet Υ = *donum*), ut puto, latet in nomine regis Tyrîi *Μαπηρ*, quod hucusque omnes Herodoti editiones obsedit L. VII, c. 98, et cum nullam aptam significationem habere videatur, certissime ex quatuor codicum auctoritate refringendum est in *Μάττηρ*. Causa erroris in promptu est, nam facile duo Tau in unum Pi coaluere.”—H. A. Hamaker, *Miscellaneous Phœnicia*, Lugd. Batav. 1820, 4, p. 194.

8) M. Six thinks that there is no motive here sufficient to correct the mention of the actual text *Σιρωμος*. Yet one of the most frequent forms

of the sigma is **Σ** which has very readily been able to replace a primitive **E**. It is not to say because of that that the mention of the *Cypriote*, **Σιραμος** son of Evelthôn, in Herodotus may not be correct: at least, it would be dangerous to contest it. I have, indeed, been informed that a stater like that which he has described at page 352, No. 1, of his *Séries Cypriotes*, 1883, (*Revue Numismatique*), has supplied M. Six with a legend more exact and which allows him to read: $\rho\omega \begin{matrix} \xi \\ \mu\omicron \end{matrix} = \Sigma\iota\rho\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$.

9) *Contra Apionem* 1, § 21.

10) C. J. S., No. 5, p. 22, "Templum Baalis ad Libanum," **עבר הירם**.

11) 1 Kings vii. 13, 40. 2 Chron. iv. 11. "Solomon autem Tyro accessit ab Hiram (rege)—*παρὰ Εἰράμου*,—artificem *Chivanum* (**Χείραμον**) e matre quidem genere Nephtalide . . ." Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* book VIII, ch. iii, § 4.

12) Obelisk of Xanthus East face, l. 59: the form of the name of Darius is curious with its dental **T** preceded by a nasal **Ξ**=ñ, "ñtariyeus, The Greek would have given "Dariyeus," and the Persian, *Dariyefus*." Yet the influence of the Egyptian at this period and so far from its frontiers, is difficult to explain. We do not, however, forget that we are ignorant of a multitude of things even concerning these plainly historical ages.

13) The texts where mention has been made of the name of Perikles are the object of a very interesting study by M. Schmidt published in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, under the direction of A. Kuhn, E. Kuhn, and Johann Schmidt, Berlin, 1879. This dissertation is entitled *Lykische Studien. 1. König Perikles*, p. 441 to 457. The origin of these inscriptions is Limyra for five of them, 6, 16, 38, 40 and 41. M. Six infers from that circumstance that Pericles "appears to have been the dynasty of that city," (*Revue Numismatique*, 1886, p. 430.) Limyra, at this day *Armootlee*, is situated in the eastern part of Lycia, by 36° 19' of latitude N. and 30° 18' of longitude E., between Phaselis and Antiphellus.

14) Theopompus XII. frag. III reunited by C. Müller, *frag. historic. Græc.*, 1, p. 295 (=Photius, *Biblioth. c.* 176, p. 202, edit. Bekker) narrates the submission to his arms of the city of Telmissus, on the frontier of Caria. *Polyan, Stratag.* V. 42, speaks of a certain Charimenes of Milet who travelled over the lands of the Lycian Pericles **Περικλέους τοῦ Λυκίου**. See those quotations and the resumé which M. Six traces from our knowledge as to king Pericles in *Monnaies Lyciennes*, principally p. 430.

15) We have a fragment of the bilingual inscription of Pixodaros, published by Pertsch and Schmidt, under the title; *Neue Lykische Studien, und das Decret des Pixodaros*, Jena, 1869, and by Savelsberg, *Beiträge zur Entziff. der lyk. Sprachhd.*, Bonn, 1874, pp. 60, N. 61.

16) **Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλωοντων μετὰ γετοῖς στρατηγῶν οἷδε ἦσαν οἰνομαστότατοι καὶ Λυκίος Κυβερνιάκος Σικα, . . .** (Herod. vii, 98). See his coins in Nos. 10 and ff. of M. Six's notice, No. 13 bears, besides the legend **KVB**, with **V** nearly invisible, a second legend, in very small letters, in which we can distinguish **ΓΑ·Α**, which I believe to be **ΠΑΤΑΡΑ**, the name of the city which was to Xanthus what the Piræus was to Athens and Joppa to Jerusalem.

17) See Savelsberg, *Beitrag z. Entz. der lyk. Sprachd.* I, pp. 11 & ff.

18) See the same work, pp. 7 and ff.

19) I is ε as in French, in **ΙΙΙΙΔΟΝΕ**, Zrppeduni. (=Σαρπητών), Obelisk, West face, l. 6, and the word for Persia. **ΡΡΡΙΙΡ**, Parzza, Obel. North, ll. 2 & 14; in the cuneiform texts, $\begin{matrix} \text{P} \\ \text{A} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{R} \\ \text{S} \end{matrix}$. The Hebrew has

likewise the soft breathing, פֶּרֶס.

20) Since I have found (or think I have found) in the long mysterious text of the Xanthian obelisk mention of Amorges, the illegitimate son of Pissuthnes, and of whom Thucydides speaks, I feel disposed to apply the *nomen gentile* of Hystaspides to that Amorges and to his father. The historian of the Peloponesian war calls "Hystaspes" the father of Pissuthnes, l. 115, and some scholars have thought that he was one of the sons of Xerxes (after Ctesias, § 20). The word "Fiztasppazñ" is read on the obelisk, north face, l. 49, not far from another *nomen gentile* of the most interesting *uuvr' r' azñ* = Amorgides, (badly read by Savelsberg and Deecke *zmrnaazn* and identified by mistake with *Smynraon*, the man of *Smynra*!) A third family name is that of "χερίν'azi" the Gorgides? If I am not mistaken, I shall recognize here three great families, (1) that came of the chief Ceriv'a, Καρικας, or Γόργος, which reigned over Lycia; (2) that of the Hystaspides, that is to say, Pissuthnes and his son, Amorges, "humr'χχó," (Obel. South, l. 50. The name is in the accusative); and (3) that to which belong Harpagos and χερεις his son, the hero of the long inscription; it would not be at all impossible that the Harpagos of the stèle should have had as father an Amorges, whose grandson by the maternal side, the son of Pissuthnes, should have received the name. Thus it is necessary to reserve the designation of *Amorgides*, not to Pissuthnes or his son, or to the descendants of the latter, who died very young, but to the family of Harpagos. According to Ctesias, Cyrus conquered Lydia, not with the old Harpagos, but with a chief named also Amorges. We hope that the decipherment of this beautiful historical inscription of the obelisk of Xanthus will furnish us with the notions which are still wanting to us as to that genealogy. The Harpagos of the stèle lived about 430.

21) **ΡΚΚ** . . . is rendered by **Heβ** . . . in the Greek of Limyra 19. (**Ηυβιαλλη**) it is therefore "Pvy," as it ought to read. This combination of a redoubled consonant following another consonant is very frequent; we have already seen the examples *Kuprelli*, *Zrppeduni*, *humr'χχe*; there are till *Kzónase*, *Iχtta*, *Parzza*, *Fiztasppazñ*. The first consonant is made to be preceded by a vowel *a*; *Zrppeduni* is to be read *Zurppeduni*. *Kuprlli* = *Kuparlli*, especially when that consonant is an *r*, but nothing indicates that another vowel did not replace the *a*, and that the name was not pronounced *Púciatepe*. . . . There are many relations between this writing and the Cypriote syllabary; it is this last which has given **Κ**, **↑**, (Cypr. **⌞**), **ω** **ψ** (Cypr. **⌚**), **m**, **×** (Cypr. **⌘**), &c. . . . When this syllabary was superseded by the simpler Phœniko-Greek alphabet, particular characters belonging to it were retained in the local alphabets of Mysia, Lydia, Lykia, Karia, Pamphylia, and Kilikia, in order to denote sounds not represented in the Hellenic alphabet. . . . A. H. Sayce, *The Karian language and inscriptions*. . . . Reprint of a Paper published in the Trans. of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Vol. IX, Part i., 1887. (p. 2).

22) *Monnaies Lyc.*, p. 108. (R. N. 1886).

23) "In the dialect of Crete the word for **ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ** would possibly have been *Αρπικος*, in the same way as *αγαθος*, good; *ακητος* (*αγατος*), wonderful; *βαϊκαν* (*αϊγα*) the goat."—*Essay*, Note at p. IV, b.

24) For example, *θθ*, *ibid.*, page v, a.

25) See the interesting preface to the *Neue Lyk. Studien* published in collaboration with Moritz Schmidt, 1869, Jena. *Eine unedirte lykisch-griechische bilinguis*, pp. 3—16.

26) See M. Fr. Lenormant's article in the *Revue Archéologique*, fev. 1871, p. 109.

27) C. J. G., No. 4253, p. 142 : Τὸ μνημεῖον Ἀντιπάρου εἰς τοῦ Πισέεραου, κτλ. J. I.

(To be continued).

THE OLD BABYLONIAN CHARACTERS AND THEIR CHINESE DERIVATES.

[The following notice by Prof. Sayce appeared in *Nature*, June 7th last; and, although it is contrary to our usual custom, we reprint the article, as it may be of great value to our readers in forming an opinion on this question, coming as it does from the pen of an eminent Assyriologist and giving his point of view. We did not think it necessary to ask the learned author to re-cast his suggestive notes in another paper for our own columns.]

Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie has long been known as the advocate of a theory which would bring the ancestors of the Chinese from Western Asia, and see in the characters they employed derivatives from the cuneiform symbols once in use in Babylonia. The proofs of his theory have been gradually placed before the learned world. In two articles published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* he has endeavoured to trace the history of the *Yh-King*, the oldest and most mysterious of Chinese books, and to show that its earliest portions contain lists of characters and their meanings, ancient poems and similar fragments of antiquity, misunderstood and misinterpreted by successive generations of commentators. Elsewhere he has given us for the first time a national account of the vicissitudes undergone by the Chinese system of writing, based upon the statements of the Chinese writers themselves. Lately he has communicated to the *Philological Society* an interesting and exhaustive description of the languages spoken in China before the arrival of the "Bak" tribes or

Chinese proper, as well as of the modern dialects which are descended from them. Now we have the last instalment of his proofs in the shape of a comparison between the primitive forms of the Chinese characters and the pictorial forms out of which the cuneiform script subsequently developed.* Prof. de Lacouperie claims to have proved in a typical number of instances that the correspondence is exact, or fairly so, as regards form, signification, and phonetic value; and that consequently an early connection between Chinese and Babylonian must be assumed. *Since the Babylonian forms can be shown to presuppose those of China, we must bring the Chinese from the West, and not conversely the Babylonians from the East.*

I am not a Sinologist, and therefore can pronounce no opinion on the Sinological side of the argument. Chinese scholars must determine how far Prof. de Lacouperie's restoration of the primitive forms and values of the Chinese signs is correct. Assuming it to be so, the resemblance between many of them and the corresponding characters of Accadian Chaldaea is certainly surprising.

On the Babylonian side, Prof. de Lacouperie has been at great pains to secure accuracy, and has left but little to criticize. *Zik*, however, it may be observed, is not a value of the Babylonian ideograph of "ship," but goes back to an erroneous conjecture of Dr. Hincks; and the original meaning of the character which has the value of *pu* was "the leaf" or "leafy branch" of a tree.

The Babylonians seem never to have forgotten that the cuneiform characters they used had originated in pictures. Indeed, their scribes long claimed the privilege of adding to them, the result being that hieroglyphic forms took their place in the texts by the side of forms that long degenerated into a cuneatic shape. The original hieroglyphics had been the invention of the so-called Accadians, the early population of Chaldaea, who spoke agglutinative dialects, and were eventually superseded by the Semites.

The Semites received the hieroglyphics from their inventors after they had already assumed a cuneatic form, and added still further to the heritage. When the Semitic king Sargon I. was reigning in Babylonia in B.C. 3800, the scribes at his court were still occupied in devising new forms of characters, and in increasing the number of phonetic values the student was required to learn. This is the cause of the fact pointed out by Prof. de Lacouperie, that, whereas most of the cuneiform characters have to be turned on their sides in order to be restored to their primitive position (Chaldaean writing having once been traced in vertical columns), there are other characters which have never been thus displaced. As time went on, the forms of the characters became more and more distorted; the number of persons in Babylonia who could read and write was very large, and while the general form of script varied from age to age, the individual in each age was distinguished by a peculiar form of handwriting as much as is the individual of today. An official script never prevailed in Babylonia as it did in Assyria, where education was practically confined to the class of scribes; and while, therefore, the Assyrian student has little need of learning more than one form of writing as long as he confines himself to the monuments of Assyria, he is bewildered by the number of cursive hands which the documents of Babylonia oblige him to decipher.

* Cf. *B. & O. R.* vol. II, pp. 73--99. Reprinted separately.

The oldest Babylonian monuments yet known are those discovered by the French Consul, M. de Sarzec, at Telloh, in Southern Babylonia. They are earlier than the epoch of Sargon I., and belong to the pre-Semitic era. The inscriptions engraved upon them still preserve in some measure the old vertical arrangement of the characters, and in some few cases the characters themselves have a pictorial form. But more generally they have already become cuneatic, and not unfrequently have departed so widely from their primitive appearance as to make it impossible even to guess what they were primarily intended to represent. If this were the case in the fourth millennium before our era, we may have some idea of the vast antiquity to which the beginnings of Babylonian writing must reach back.

In other instances, though the transformation of the character is not so complete, it is difficult to determine with certainty the object originally portrayed. Some of Prof. de Lacouperie's examples are in this plight, and as regards at least two of them—those pronounced *du* and *du* or *tur*—I prefer the explanations suggested by Mr. Pinches and Mr. Bertin to those suggested by himself. In fact, in the first case he has misinterpreted, like the earlier Assyriologists, the Assyrian explanation of the ideograph *nasu sa nisi*; which signifies, not "the summit of man," but "the lifting up of a man." It is consequently natural to regard it as representing the uplifted arm.

Prof. de Lacouperie rejects the theory which saw in the mountains of Elam the birthplace of Babylonian writing. Whatever, however, may be the value of the arguments urged by the advocates of this theory, the arguments brought against it by Prof. de Lacouperie do not appear to me to be cogent. Certainly it is not my experience that the east of a flat country like Chaldea "always looks mountainous" to the seafarer; while the Accadian word *a* (misprinted *ai*) signifies "father" not because of the ideographic meaning of the character which represented it, but because the Accadian *ada* "father," became in pronunciation, through phonetic decay, first *ad*, and then *a*. The symbol of "country" attached to the ideographs of "man" or "servant" "handmaid" and "wild ox," need not have been introduced before the Accadians had long been settled in the Babylonian plain, and it is not quite correct to say that "while [Babylonian writing] possesses primitive symbols for 'boat' and for 'wind,' represented by an inflated sail, there are none for 'river.' Both "ship" and "river" are alike denoted by a double ideograph.†

The question, however, whether the cuneiform system of writing originated in "the mountains of the East," as the Babylonians called them, or in the islands of the Persian Gulf, does not affect Prof. de Lacouperie's main contention. If this can be established, a new and important chapter will be opened in the history of the ancient East, and the mystery which has so long enveloped the origin of the Celestial Empire will be cleared away. I must leave it to the Sinologists to determine whether, on the Chinese side, Prof. de Lacouperie's conclusions are sustainable; on the Babylonian side, he has nothing to fear from Assyrian scholars.

A. H. SAYCE.

† I propose in a special article to put forward all the reasons which in my opinion support decisively the legend reported by Berosus, against the recent theory of a northern highland origin. T. de L.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

*THE FABULOUS FISHERMEN OF EARLY BABYLONIA
IN ANCIENT CHINESE LEGENDS.*

THE fabulous legends of Babylonia attributed the introduction of the art of writing and of all its learning to the successive arrival of divine beings half-fish half-man from the Persian gulf. The tradition must have been carried to early China like so many others already mentioned, as we find it echoed there, and applied in a curious manner to the early leaders of the Chinese.

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In the fragments preserved of the Babylonian history of Berossus¹ we are told that, in the first year², there came a reasonable being whose entire body was that of a fish; under the fish's head he had another head, with feet also below similar to those of a man subjoined to the fish's tail. He had appeared in that part of the Erythæan sea which borders upon Babylonia, and he gave to men an insight into letters, sciences, and arts of very kind. Every day when the sun had set, this being, Oannes, used to retire into the sea, and pass the night in the deep, for he was amphibious, and come again every morning.³

Similar fishermen, on the same errand, appeared during several successive reigns, and, though their names have been preserved in the said fragments or quotations from Berossus' work, there are a few discrepancies in the various reports as to the origin and times of their respective appearance. But the difficulty is not insuperable, and a great scholar, the late François Lenormant, who had paid peculiar attention to the subject, had come to the conclusion that the number of these monstrous apparitions or theophanies, was the same as that of the number of reigns from the first king to the seventh of the ten mythical antediluvian kings. However, even in combining the information derived from the various extracts and quotations of the lost work, we can agree with the late lamented scholar, only in excepting the second reign, as we cannot restore the list of the apparitions and reigns otherwise than as follows. The references are given in foot-notes.

- I. First King: *Alōros* (for *Adōros*=*Adiuru* in Akk.), the Chaldæan who ruled for 10 *sar*,⁴ in the first year of whose reign appears Oannes.⁵
- II. Second King: *Alaparos* or *Alasparos*,⁶ who ruled for 3 *sar*.
- III. Third King: *Amillaros*⁷ or *Amelōn* of Pantibiblon (Agadê), who ruled 13 *sar*. In the last, appearance of the first *Annēdotos* or *Euneudotos* (= *Anudata* in Akk. 'Anu law'⁸). Also called *Idotion*.
- IV. Fourth King: *Ammenōn*, the Chaldæan, of Pantibiblon, who ruled 12 *sar*. Appearance of the 2nd *Annēdotos* otherwise *Eneugamos* (for *Neugamos*=*Nukimmut* ? in Akk.)⁹
- V. Fifth King: *Amegalaros*, or *Megalaros*, or *Metalaros*, or *Megalanos* (for *Melargalos* ? = *Muru-urugal* in Akk.¹⁰) of Pantibiblon, who ruled for 18 *sar*. Appearance of the 3rd *Annēdotos*, otherwise *Eneubulos* (= *Anu-bel*) during the second *sar*.
- VI. Sixth King: *Daōnos* or *Daōs* of Pantibiblon, who ruled for 10 *sar*. Appearance of the 4th *Annēdotos*, otherwise *Anēmentos* (= *Anu munatu* ? in Akk.)¹¹
- VII. Seventh King: *Euedōreskhos* or *Edōranchos* of Pantibiblon, who ruled for 18 *sar*. Appearance of *Anodaphos* or *Odakon* (for *Anō-dakōn*, *i.e.* Anu-Dagon¹²).

And we are told that all those kings who came, subsequently to Oannes, explained in detail all that had been taught summarily by him.¹³

We have no need here to go further into the question and enquire if the first apparition is the prototype of which the others are only imitations, or if they conceal under a mythological dress some real immigration and importation severally repeated. Neither is it a part of our task to investigate the origin of the mythological arrival of Oannes, nor is it to examine, if it is the result of a combined information by which a solar myth has enveloped genuine traditions referring to the primeval arrival by sea in the country, of civilised men covered with fish skin coats, from the rising or setting sun regions in the Persian gulf. We shall examine these questions in a special paper. The only thing we have here to remember is that a long lingering tradition of several, probably seven, appearances of mysterious ichthyomorphic beings, or half-fish half-man, whose mission consisted in teaching the population, till then rude, of Babylonia, was linked with the earliest traditions of the country.



These peculiarities must have been communicated to the ancestors of the civilisers of the Chinese, when they were still in Western Asia, with the whole, or nearly the whole apparatus of civilisation. Knowing how

conservative of mind the Chinese were, and are still, we should be surprised should we not find such peculiar legends in their early traditions. The following, therefore, must be taken as an imitation, more or less complete or completed of the fabulous events of which the tradition was reported to them, adapted to their surroundings and circumstances :

I. When the mists (in which the heavens were wrapt for three days and three nights) were removed, he (the emperor Hwang-ti=Nakhunte) made an excursion on the Loh (river) and saw a great fish; and sacrificed to it with five victims, whereupon torrents of rain came down for seven days and seven nights, when the fish floated off the sea and the emperor obtained the map writing. The dragon writing came forth from the Ho (river) and the Kwai (= Kut or tortoise) writing from the Loh (river).

II. Apparition to *K'ing-ku*, mother of Yao. "One morning the dragon came with a writing" which was the description of the future emperor Yao.

III. When Yao had been on the throne 70 years. . . . On the second month . . . when the day began to decline, a glorious light came forth from the Ho river. Then a Lung Ma (=dragon-horse) appeared, bearing in his mouth a scaly cuirass, with red lines on a green ground, ascended the altar, laid down the scheme, and went away. . . .

IV. Two years afterwards, on the banks of the Loh, at the decline of the day . . . "a red light appeared: a tortoise rose from the waters, with a writing in red lines on its back, and rested on the altar." . . .

V. In his 14th year Shun raised an altar at the Ho. "When the day declined, there came a fine and glorious light; and a yellow dragon issued and came to the altar, bearing a scheme on his back, . . . in lines of red and green intermingled. . . ."

VI. In the time of Yao, Shun brought Yü forward. As he was looking at the Ho, a tall man, with a white face and fish's body came out. . . . Having spoken, he gave Yü a chart of the Ho, containing all about the regulating of the waters: and returned into the deep."¹⁴

These six apparitions are the only ones which are referred to the primitive times in China, but they do not stand alone in the fabulous legends of the country. As usual with the Chinese compilers of history and ancient traditions, the circle has been extended so as to include the founders of the Shang and Tchou dynasties, whose own merits and virtues equal to those of the early leaders could not, in the judgment of the writers, have been deprived of the same glorious events which illustrated the lives of Hwangti, Shun and Yao. We give here these secondary apparitions spurious imitations of the others :

T'ang (the founder of the Shang dynasty¹⁵) came east to the Loh . . . yellow fishes leaped in pairs . . . a black tortoise, with red lines forming characters. . . .

At the beginning of the Tchou dynasty¹⁶ Liu Shang went out rambling, when he saw a red man come out from the Loh, who gave him

a writing with the words: As a backbone, you must assist Tchang (Wu Wang).

When Wu Wang was crossing the river at the ford of Meng in the middle of the stream, a white fish leaped into the king's boat under its eyes were red lines which formed the characters

When Wu Wang died, the young Tehing Wang and Tan duke of Tchou as regent, went to view the Hoh and the the Loh, a green dragon appeared bearing a shell with red characters,¹⁷ &c.

These fabulous statements speak by themselves and do not require any further remark.

As we have pointed out in the case of the tree of life and calendar plant some remote and varied echoes of the legend are found in literature¹⁸. For instance, in the Romantic Geography of the *Shan hai king*¹⁹ we hear of the *Hu* people who had human faces and fish bodies, and who were descendants of Shen-nung (whose legend has been shown to be an echo of that of Sargon²⁰) through his grandson, *Ling kia*²¹.

The notion of mermen was certainly present to the mind of the writers who describing the Ti people from the great rivers in the west of China, and seen by any chance traveller, engaged in their usual occupation of fishing, half the body in the water. They were reported to have the lower part of their body as fishes, and their description appears in the same Romantic Geography²².

A last echo has probably made itself heard in the following fabulous description of the *Jin* (195+9) or fishermen, which are supposed to have been developed out of some notions on the *Dugang*,²³ the cetaceous mammal of the Indian Archipelago. It runs thus: "A sort of merman or mermaid, having eyebrows, ears, mouth, nose, hands, nails and head complete; its skin and flesh is as white as alabaster, it has no scales, and is covered with fine hair of various colours; the hair of its head is flowing like a horse's tail, five or six feet long, which is also the length of its body. People who live near the sea, catch and breed them in pools; the male and female live together like human beings²⁵."

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The conclusion of this paper can be but very short. The loan to the Chinese legends of the Babylonian fabulous traditions of the arrival out of the water of fishermen acquainted with the art of writing, is so clear and evident that we need not insist again to make it understood. Though not the object of a special mention, the subject matter of this article is the elucidation and demonstration of one of the legends alluded to in the sixty items of the civilization of Babylonia carried to ancient China.

NOTES.

- 1) He was born circa 355 B.C.
- 2) Cf. Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérosee*, (Paris, 1871) p. 19.—*Les Origines de l'histoire*, t. I, (Paris, 1880), p. 581.—Also T. P. Cory, *Ancient fragments of the Phœnician, Chaldean, Egyptian, Tyrian, Carthaginian, Indian, Persian, and other writers*, edit. Hodge, p. 51-52.
- 3) A representation of Oannes=Ea, corresponding with the description of Berossus has been found in the sculptures of the Assyrian palaces and on the Babylonian cylinders. Cf. for the former: Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, II, 466; *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 343, 350; and for the latter: Layard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. XVI, 7; pl. XVII, 1, 3, 5, 8.
- 4) The *sar* is the well known Babylonian measure of time for 3600 years equivalent to six *ner* of 600 years: a *ner* being equivalent to ten soss of 60 years. The aggregate of the years of the reign of the ten antediluvian Kings makes 120 *sar*, which would make 432000 years, an interpretation which was current in antiquity as we find the same figure in the legends preserved in China. The unit of the primeval traditions may have been a sensible one. We shall examine the question in a special paper on *Babylonian Cycles, Numbers and Names in China*.
- 5) F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 203-204; *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérosee*, pp. 243-251; *Les origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, pp. 580-589, App. II, Les Révelations divines antediluviennes chez les Chaldéens.
- 6) Lenormant, *Bérosee*, pp. 235-236, has explained the two first names by the Assyrian *Ail-ur*, 'the ram of light,' *Alap-ur* 'Bull of light.'
- 7) Explained by Lenormant, *ibid.*, p. 236, as the Assyrian *Abal-ur* 'son of light.'
- 8) F. Lenormant, *Bérosee*, frag. XI, and p. 249.
- 9 & 10) F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 204.
- 11) All these suggestive explanations of proper names are borrowed from Lenormant's works above quoted.
- 12) A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* of 1887, p. 132.
- 13) Berossus, *ap. Syncell*, p. 39; Lenormant, *Bérosee*, p. 241.
- 14) All these passages are quoted from the Annals of the Bamboo Books, *Tchuh shu ki nien*, in *Chinese Classics*, edit. Legge, vol. III, præf. pp. 109, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117.—On this work cf. *B. & O. R.*, June, 1888, p. 151; and the note 9, p. 166 must be rectified and completed as follows: These Annals, which are concise as ephemerids, refer to the successive central dynasties until 770 B.C.; from that date to 440 B.C. it is the principality of Tsin in Shansi which is their chief object, and afterwards unto the end (394 B.C.) they refer to that of Wei (S. Shansi & N. Honan).
- 15) In the XVth cent. B. C.
- 16) In the XIth cent. B. C.
- 17) *Tchuh shu Ki nien*, *ibid.*, pp. 118, 128, 143 and 147.
- 18) *The Tree of life and Calendar plant of Babylonia and China*, in *B. & O. R.* June 1888, vol. II, pp. 152-153 (repr. pp. 4-5.)
- 19) Chap. XVI, edit. Pi yuen, fol. 6 v.
- 20) In my papers *Traditions of Babylonia in early Chinese documents* (*The Academy*, Nov. 17, 1883), *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia*

to early China, in *B. & O. R.* July, 1888, vol. II, p. 185, (Repr. p. 2) ; and later in the confirmatory and most interesting article of Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Shen-nung and Sargon*, *ibid.* pp. 208-209.

21) Does this name represent any lasting echo of *Lurankha*=*Surippak*, one of the towns where ruled several of the mythical kings under the reign of whom the fishermen successors of Oannes made their appearance.

22) *Shan Hoi King*, Bk. 13.




23) Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, s. v. p. 287.

24) *Halicore Dugung*. The word is Malay *dūyung*, also Javanese *dūyung*; Macassar *rupung*. Cf. Yule - Burnell, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian words*, p. 254.

25) *Kang-hi tze tien*, s. v. 195+2.r--Meddhurst, *Chinese and English Dictionary*, p. 1389. TERRIEN DE LACUPERIE.

BABYLONIAN CANALS.

THE level nature of the fertile Chaldean plain and its freedom from hard rock formations rendered it one peculiarly suitable for the introduction of a system of irrigation canals which soon, as we know from ancient writers, spread like a network over the plain. Many of these canals were of large size, and formed channels of communication between the two rivers.

It is evident that the construction of these canals dates from a very early period, as the signs used for their ideographic expression belong to the earliest characters, and indeed retain some traces of pictorial character. Thus we find that the sign  rendered by *nagabu*, "a canal," and by *Khagabu*, "to irrigate," is certainly derived from the pictorial form  which is composed of channel and flowing water. The Sumerian name for these useful public works was *Kan* or *Kam*. We find them also represented by the word *Id*, a river which also is a compound ideogram of very simple construction, and may be thus analysed  = water + channel + flow. The references to canals in the earliest hymns of the school of Eridu all point to their great antiquity. Indeed, the construction of these life-spreading streams seems to have been regarded as a religious duty, and a hymn for such an occasion appears to be preserved in the fragment S1704, recently published by Professor Sayce:

Thou, O river, I have made thee;
 When I dug thee, the great gods were beside thy bank;
 Ea, the Lord of the deep, blessing in thy heart has made,
 His deluge before thee he brought!

Here, then, the great water-god Ea figures in his character of the *sar nari*, "Prince of Rivers," which is assigned to him. The lists of rivers and canals given in the inscriptions show that most of these streams, if not actually deified, as were the Tigris and Euphrates, were certainly under Divine protection. Thus, in one of these lists (W.A.I. ii. 51 l. 26--34), we find the Tigris called *Nar ša babilat nukhšī*, "the river which pours forth joy;" the Euphrates under its old name of "the river of Sippara" is called *napišti māti*. "the life of the land.;, the Araxes the *Arakhtu* of the inscription is described as the river *ša ana Babilī ubbalu balata*," which "to Babylon brings life." Other names such as "the fish canal," "the bird canal," "the snake canal" "the rope canal" no doubt were derived from local peculiarities. In our information regarding these important features in Babylonian topography, we are fortunately not confined entirely to mythological texts, for the names and particulars of the construction of several of those water-ways are known to us.

One of the most ancient was the canal of Sippara called 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 ID UD-KIP-NUN KI. This name was in after time given as a common appellation of the river Euphrates (W.A.I., II, 50, 7). The Euphrates cannot, however, be identified with the "river or canal of Sippara," which Khammurabi states that he excavated in his time—"The canal of Sippara to Sippara I dug, and with protecting banks I lined it," (No. 1, I, 20—II—1). This distinction is still more forcibly shown by the inscription of Nabupalassar, which was written at least fifteen centuries later. In this valuable text the King distinctly states that the Euphrates had removed itself "from the city of Sippara, the great city beloved of the Sun-god and Gula", and that it was necessary to continue the canal formerly excavated by Khammurabi until it reached again the banks of the river.

An inspection of the splendid maps of this region of Babylonia issued by the Indian government clearly show the westward tendency of the Euphrates, and the three ancient beds can be traced with clearness.

1. The Ancient River of Sippara. 2. The course about B.C. 2200
3. Course about B.C. 600. In the Trigonometrical survey of part of Mesopotamia from Sheirat-Beytha to Tel Ibrahim by Comr. Selby and Lieut. Brewsher, 1862--65. the following topographic features are to be noticed. That from Akr-El-Gherbi until south of Aboo Hubba no ancient canal approaches near the present course of the Euphrates. Almost opposite and extending South East of Aboo Hubba is a pebbly ridge evidently to be traced to riverain origin. East of this between the Ruthwaniyeh and the ridge is a depression extending until the canal El Mutu is reached when it nears the present course

If the river Tig-gar here mentioned is the same as the Mas-tig-gar, the Sumerian name of the Tigris, the identification with the tower of Sippara must be abandoned, and in that case the edifice is marked by the ruins at Kallwad, on the Tigris, where the mace-head bearing the inscription, the palace of Khammurabi, was found.

There remains one point more to be considered. Was the river of Sippara the same as the river Khammurabi, of which so full a description is given in the Paris inscription? This I hardly think is the case, for the latter seems to have been a much larger work, extending apparently through the two provinces of Sumir and Akkad, and therefore probably one of the large canals running north south. On this point I hope to have some further evidence to place before the readers of the *Record* in a future number.

I.

BRITISH MUSEUM CYLINDER.

<i>Col. I. Transcription.</i>	<i>Col. I. Translation.</i>
1 Kha-am-mu-ra-bi	1 Khammurabi
2 šarru da-lum	2 the mighty king
3 šar Babili (KA-DIMMIRA)	3 king of Babylon
4 šar ki-ip-ra-tim	4 king of the four
5 ar-ba-im	5 quarters
6 ba-ni ma-tim	6 builder of the land
7 šarru ša ip-ša-tu-šu	7 the king
8 a-na ši-ir (Ilu) šamaš	8 to the sight of the Sun god
9 u (Ilu) Marduk ʔa-ba	9 and Merodach are pleasing
10 a-na-ku	10 I am (he)
11 dur	11 The tower
12 ša Sippara (UD-KIP-NUN-KI)	12 of Sippara
13 in e-pi-ri	13 with earth
14 ki-ma sa-tu-im	14 like a great
15 ra-bi-im	15 mountain
16 ri-ši-šu	16 its summit
17 lu-n-ul-li	17 I raised
18 ap-pa-ra-am	18 (with) a rampart
19 lu.us-ta-aš-khi-ir-su	19 I encircled it
20 Nar-Sippara (UD-KIP-NUN)	20 the canal of Sippara
21 ana-Sippara	21 to Sippara
22 lu-Akh-ri-a-am-ma	22 then I dug and
23 kar šu-ul-mi-im	23 with protecting banks
<i>Col. II.</i>	<i>Col. II.</i>
1 lu-um-mi-šu (<i>rar.</i> zu)	1 I lined it.
2 Kha-am-mu-ra-bi	2 Khammurabi
3 ba-ni ma-tim	3 the builder of the land,
4 šarru ša ip-ša tu-šu	4 the king whose deeds
5 a-na ši-ir (Ilu) šamaš	5 to the sight of the Sun god
6 u (Ilu) Marduk ʔa-ba	6 and Merodach are pleasing.
7 a-na-ku	7 I am (he)
8 Sippara (UD-NTR-NUN-KI)	8 Sippara
9 u Babili	9 and Babylon
10 šu-ba-at ne-ikh-tim	10 the resting places

11 a-na da-ir-a-tim	11 to all time
12 lu u-še-si-ib	12
13 Kha-am-mu-ra-bi	13 Khammurabi
14 Mi-gi-ir (Ilu) Šamši	14 the favourite of the Sun god
15 Na-ra-am (Ilu) Marduk	15 the beloved of Merodach
16 a-na-ku	16 I am he.
17 ša iš-tu um-um	17 That which from days
18 ši-a-tum	18 ancient
19 ša-sru in šarrani ali	19 no king of the kings of the city
20 la ib-ni u	20 had made
21 a-na Ilu Šamaš bil ya	21 to the Sun god my lord
22 ra-bi-iš	22 mightily
23 lu-e-pu-uš-šu-um	23 then I constructed.

II.

THE PARIS INSCRIPTION.

This transliteration is from the copies published by Mémant, *Inscriptions de Khammurabi*, Paris, 1863, and also in *Elements d'Épigraphie assyrienne*, Paris, 1880, corrected by the version in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Band ii., p. 1880-1.

Transcription.

Column I.—1. Kha-am-mu-ra-bi 2. šarru da-lum. 3. šar Babili 4. šarru mu-uš-te-eš-mi. 5. Ki-ip-ra-tim ar-ba-im. 6. Ka-si-id ir-ni-ti. 7. Ilu Marduk 8. ri-u mu-ti-ib. 9. li-ib-bi-šu a-na-ku-ku. 10. Ni-nu Ilu u Bel. 11. niši Šu-me-er-im 12. u Ak-ka-di-im 13. a-na bi-li-im id-di-nu-nim. 14. ši-ir-ra-zi-na. 15. a-na ga-ti-ya 16. u-ma-al-lu-u 17. Naru Kha-am-mu-ra-bi 18. nu-khu uš ni-si 19. ba-bi-la-at me khigalli (כחגלל) 20. a-na ni-ši. Šu-me-er-im 21. u Ak-ka-di-im 22. lu-akh-ri 23. ki-ša-di ša ki-la-li-en 24. a-na mi-ri-sim lu u-te-ir 25. ka-ri-e aš-na-an 26. lu aš-tap-pa-ak. 27. me-e da-ru-tim 28. A-na niši. Šu-me-er-im 29. u Ak-ka-di-im. 30. lu aš-ku-um.

Column II.—1. Niši Šu-me-er-im 2. u Ak-ka di-im 3. u ni-ši-šu-un na-ap-kha-tim 4. lu-u-pa-akh-khi-ir 5. mi-ti-tum u ma-aš-ki-tum 6. lu as-ku-am-si-na-ši-im 7. in nu-ukh-šim u khigalli 8. lu e-ri-si-na-ti 9. šu-ba-at ne-ikh-tim 10. lu-u-ši-ši-ib-ši-na-ti 11. Ni-nu-mi-šu 12. Kha-am-mu-ra-bi. 13. šarru da-lum 14. mi-gir ili rabiti (GAL-GAL) a-na-ku 15. in e-nu-ki-in 16. ga-aš-ra-tim 17. ša Ilu Marduk id-di-nam 18. dāru ši-ra-am 19. in e-bi-ri-ra-bu-tim 20. šari-ša-su-nu 21. Ki-ma sa-tim e-li-a 22. ina risi nar Kha-am-mu-ra-bi 23. nu-khu-uš niši 24. in e-pu-uš 25. dū-ru šu-a-ti 26. dur Sin[?]-nu-ba-li-it 27. [a-bi] im a-li-di-ya 28. [zi]-kir su-mi-sum lu-ab-bi 29. Sin-nu-ba-li-it 30. a-bi-im a-li-di-ya 31. in ki-ib-ra-tim lu-u-šep-pis.

Translation.

Column I.—1. Khammurabi 2. the powerful king 2. King of Babylon 4. the king who causes himself to be heard 5. [in] the four quarters 6. Conqueror of opponents 7. The god Merodach 8. the prince pleasing 9. his heart I am he. 10. When El and Bel 11. the people of Sumir 12. and Akkad 13. to my dominion had given 14. and their seed my hands 16. had filled 17. the river [of] Khammurabi 18. the benefactor of men 19. bearing waters of fertility 20. for the people of Sumir 21. and Akkad 22. then I excavated 23. its adjacent banks 24. to cultivation then I

turned : 5. double banks 26. Then I heaped up 27. perennial waters
28. for the people of Sumir 29. and Akkad 30 then I established.

Column II.—1. The people of Sumir 2. and Akkad 3. and their tribes
adjacent 4. then I assembled 5. irrigation streams, and drinking water
6. then I appointed for them 7. with benefits and fertility 8. then I
showered them 9. and in a resting-place 10. I caused them to dwell. 11.
Then 12. Khammurabi 13. the great king 14. the favourite of the
great gods I am he 15. 16. By the mighty wisdom 17. which Merodach
...has given 18. two great towers 19. with much earth 20. for their
heads 21. like mountains I raised 22. at the source of the river [of]
Khammurabi 23. the benefactor of men 24. then I made 25. those
towers, 26 the tower of Sin-mubanit 27. the father my begetter 28. as a
record of his name then I proclaimed.....29..... the tower of Sinmu
balit 30. father my begetter 31. with bitumen I made.

III.

INSCRIPTION OF NABUPALASSAR.

TRANSCRIPTION.

TRANSLATION.

*Col. I.**Col. I.*

1	D.P. Na-bi-um-apla-u-ṣu-ur	1	Nabupalassar
2	ṣar Bab-ili	2	King of Babylon
3	ti-ri-iṣ ga-at (Ilu) Na-bi-um	3	Guided by the hands of Nebo
4	u (Ilu) Marduk a-na-ku.	4	and Merodach I am (he).
5	Ni-nu (Ilu) Marduk bel rab-u	5	When Merodach the great lord
6	a-na-za-na-an ma-kha-zi	6	to the restoration of towns,
7	u-du-ṣu es-ri-eti	7	the renovation of holyplaces
8	ur-ta-ṣu ka-bi-it-ti	8	by his mighty command
9	u-na-h-i-ra-an-ni	9	urged me.
10	Ni-nu-mi-su-nm	10	Then also (from)
11	Sippara (𒂗𒌷𒍪𒍪𒌷𒍪𒌷𒍪)	11	Sippara
12	ma-kha-zi-L-ri	12	a great city
13	na-ra-am (Ilu) Samsu (Ilu) Gula	13	beloved of the Sun god and Gula,
14	nar Sippara is-si-ṣt ma	14	the river Euphrates had removed itself
15	a-na-ku dam-ku bi-lu-ti su-nu	15	I for the favour of their lordships
16	Me-e i-ri-e-sim a-bur sa-a-bu.	16	Waters

*Col. II.**Col. II.*

1	D.P. Na-bi-um-apla-u-su-ur	1	Nabu-pal-assar
2	a-as-ri ṣa-akh-tim	2	
3	pa-li-ikh ilani Ya-a-ti	3	worshipper of the gods myself.
4	Nar Sippara	4	the canal of Sippara
5	Ar na Sippara	5	to Sippara
6	lu-u-ṣa-akh-ra-am-na.	6	then I excavated.
7	Me-e nu-ukh-ṣi nik-lu-tim	7	pleasant waters
8	a-na (Ilu) Ṣamaš bel-ya	8	for the Sun god my lord
9	lu-u-ki-in.	9	then I established.
10	Ki-bi-ir nar ṣu-a-ti	10	The channel of that stream
11	I-na kupri u a-gur-ri	11	with bitumen and brick
12	lu u-ṣa-ar-ṣi-id-ma,	12	then I made strong.
13	a-na (Ilu) Ṣamas bel ya	13	for the Sun god my lord
14	kar ṣu-ul-im	14	protecting banks
15	lu-um-mi-id	15	then I placed.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

Inscription I.

Line I. *Da-lum*, "mighty." Although somewhat obscure as to etymology, the equivalent in the Sumerian versions leaves no doubt as to the meaning, it being *Aḡ-gi*, which is the equivalent of *don-uu*, or in the bilingual text of this king (Nimroud Saloon) *da-an-uu-am*. See also Lenormant *Choix de textes Cuneiformes*, Fas. 2, No. 62. Inscription of Dungi, also *Revue archeologique*, Fev. 1873, p. 76.

2. *bani matim*, "builder of the land," the Sumerian equivalent is *kalamā* (𒂗𒍪) *dīm dīm-mi*, "builder of the world or nation."

3. 𒂗𒍪 *šī-ir* must be the word *Seru*, "flesh," used in the sense of "person," the Sumerian version has 𒂗𒍪, which supports this rendering.

4. *Apparam*, "a rampart"; Sumerian has *gur-ru gu-mu-ni-gin*, "a rampart I it enclosed."

22. *Kar sul-mi*. Apparently a borrowed expression, as the Sumerian has *kar silima*, i.e. 𒂗𒍪 -*ma*. In the second inscription this phrase is replaced by *ka-ri-e aš-uu-uu* (𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪) II, i. 25. Here the use of *astāpak*, "I heaped up," seems to suggest the reading "double or parallel banks," such as flank all the Babylonian canals. *Ašnan* is derived from *šanaru* 𒂗𒍪 like *azakaru*, a "commemoration day," from *zakaru* 𒂗𒍪 or *ikribu*, prayer from *karabu*. This explanation seems to be settled by the following passage in the India House inscription, col. v. 27. *itāt kar khiriti šu. 2 kari dannuti ina kupuri u aguri abnima u itti kari abi ikšuru esūkma*, "the side banks of its ditch, two strong banks with bitumen and bricks, and with the embankment of my father made firm and joined." For farther examples see *Strass. Alp. Verzeichniss*, No. 4193.

6. *šar in sarrau*. Sumerian here has *lugal lugalene-ir*, "king of the kings." For this title compare the title of Sargon I. on the whorl, *sar ali*, "king of the city."

Inscription II.

4. *Muštešmi*. Istafal participle of *šimū*, meaning literally "one causing himself to be heard."

8. *muṭeb*, "pleasing." Compare W. A. I. v. 64, col. III, 15, *rubu zannu-ka muṭib tibbi-ka epis* ("I, Nabonidus, king of Babylon) the prince thy beautifier, the one pleasing to thy mart have made."

10. *Ilu* 𒂗𒍪 may possibly stand for *Anu*, but the frequent occurrence of *Il* in names of the period justifies the reading. Perhaps also the contrast to *Bel* (see *Migration of Abram*, Victoria Institute Trans. part 78.)

19. *Babilat*, Part. from *babatu* to pour, to flow. Compare *biblat libbi* "offspring" See also *Strass Alp. Ver.: ina biblat libbi-ya u turši katiya* "by the thoughts of my heart and the assistance of my hands."

23. *Kilaliēn* "adjacent" lit. "all round" see W. A. I. V. 64 line 19 *izzizu kelallan* "were standing around."

21. *Merisim*. Part. from *erisu* "to cultivate", compare the common phrase in contracts *ekil erisi* "cultivated field."

Col. II. 3. *Na-ap-kha-tim*. *Na* appears to be the only reading for 𒂗𒍪 in this case which gives a niplhal derivation from *pakhu*, to "come together" *pikhatu* "province" *naphkatim* "tribes."

5 & 8. *Miritum* and *crisinati* both from 𓆎𓆏 "to sprinkle" scatter, irrigate.

24. *Šin-mu-ba-li-it*. The sign read *um* by Menant is certainly 𓆎𓆏𓆎𓆏 EN-ZU. "Šin" the Moon god. In the same way 𓆎𓆏 must have the value *li* as both readings are based on the king's name in the Canon. See Pinches' List in Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch. Vol. VIII.

Inscription III.

2. *Tiriš*, "guided" from *tarašu* "to direct"--Compart note on *biblat*, *tarsi katiya* "the guidance of my hands" II. 19.

8. *Urta*, synonym of *tertu* a "law or command" in W.A.I. IV. 26.

14. *issisma*, "had left" for *insisma*, from 𓆎𓆏 to leave, to abandon. Compare *nisuti* "distant" "far removed" *ana uatut*, *sarrani nisuti* to the lands of far distant "kings." W.A.I. I. 12. 49.

W. ST C. BOSCAWEN.

WAS PIANKHI A SYNONYM FOR SABAKO?

IT is with the greatest diffidence I venture to offer a few observations on a very crooked period of Egyptian history to so critical an audience as the subscribers of the *B. & O. R.* The hypothesis which I would urge is only a tentative one. There is no absolute proof either way available, and if what I have to say seems revolutionary, it only shares the fate of other views which have proved to be true. Among the paradoxes which must have presented themselves to the students of the history of the 24th and 25th Egyptian dynasties as told by Manetho, there is one which has not, so far as I know, been made the subject of much comment, and that is the fact that there is no mention in Manetho's lists of the great king and conqueror, Piankhi. Piankhi styles himself king of Upper and Lower Egypt in the famous long inscription that has been so much quoted since its discovery in 1864, and which was translated in the *Records of the Past* by Canon Cook. He was no doubt acknowledged as king all over the country, and was clearly a very famous and distinguished person. How, then, is it that he is not named by Manetho? The priest historian has no scruples about naming his country's conquerors and the various foreigners who became its masters, and there can have been no special reason why he should omit the name of one so earnestly distinguished for his piety and his deference to the Egyptian gods. What, then, is the explanation of the difficulty? The solution which I would suggest is that perhaps he occurs in Manetho's lists under some other name. Let us examine this hypothesis more closely,

It is a very curious fact that the 3 kings forming the 25th or Ethiopian dynasty of Manetho, namely, Sabako, Sabatak, and Tirhakah bear names which are not Egyptian in etymology; but, as has been shown very clearly by Dr. Brugsch, are to be explained by the language of the Nubian Barabra, the modern representative of the ancient Ethiopian language. Shabk or Sabki, meaning the male cat, and Shabata k, or Sab ato ki in Bar bra, meaning the male cat's son, while Tirhaka has a common Ethiopian termination, (see Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 274-275).

On turning to Piankhi, we have a name which seems to be clearly of Egyptian etymology; the particle *Pi* occurs in several of the names of Egyptian kings, &c. as *Pi mai*, which means 'the male cat', Brugsch, ii. 219 and 275, *Pi notem*, *Pi ke ro ro*, &c.

Ankhi occurs in the names of a priest Ankh Psamethik (*id.* 284), and of an architect of the same name (*id.* 200), and in that of Ankh neq Amon, the daughter of Khamatin (*id.* I. 456): but the very name itself of Piankhi occurs long before as the second king of the 21st dynasty. This is assuredly a curious fact, for the Piankhi about whom we are now writing was essentially an Ethiopian, the greatest, perhaps, of the Ethiopians. Why, then, should he bear a name of Egyptian origin while the three Ethiopian kings of Manetho's list have Ethiopian names? The fact seems to add support to the hypothesis which I started with namely, that Piankhi is a synonym of some king mentioned under another name by Manetho; and the great probability is that it is an Egyptian name or title adopted by one of Manetho's three Ethiopian kings. The question is, Which of the three? Tirhakah is quite inadmissible. His history and that of Piankhi are quite apart and distinct: Shabatak seems altogether to have been too unimportant a person to be available. We have left Shabak the founder of the dynasty. Can it be that he was Piankhi under another name? That Shabak was his style in his early days and among his own people, while Piankhi was the Egyptian name he adopted when he conquered the famous empire which bordered Ethiopia on the north. Now, it is very curious that the name Shabak or Sabako does not occur in the Egyptian monuments, or if it does, it is so rarely that one can hardly find an example. The name undoubtedly occurs stamped on a clay tablet found at Nineveh, where the king's head is also figured. But it will be noted that in that instance he wears the crown of Upper Egypt only, and this was, therefore probably a monument of his early days, (see figure in Birch's history of Egypt). The history of Shabak is very obscure. He seems to have conquered Lower Egypt with its capital Sais from Bokkhoris, the sole king of the 24th dynasty.

It will be remarked that in his great inscription Piankhi in his 21st year not only speaks of himself as king of Upper and Lower Egypt but was clearly the master of the whole country which was divided among his dependants. The dependant who then ruled at Sais and Memphis was Tafnakht. I have little doubt that this Tafnakht was the son of Bokkhoris. He was the Tnephachthus of some of the classical writers and not improbably the Nekhepsu of others. In Brugsch's table Tafnakht is made a son of Bokkhoris.

Piankhi, as is well known, married the beautiful queen Ameniritis. It was probably on this marriage that he changed his name from Shabak or rather adopted the new name of Piankhi. The suggestion here made seems to clear up very materially the chronological difficulties surrounding Piankhi in whose great inscription we find several names which recur in the famous inscription of Assurbanipal recording his victory over Tirhakah, and which proves he lived at least in the same generation as the latter.

It enables us also to solve toher difficulties. Shabak is reported by Manetho to have been succeeded by his son Shabatak. If the father adopted an Egyptian name he would probably be followed in doing so by the son. The successor of Piankhi is called Miamun Nut on the monuments, and Brugsch says he has found an inscription dated in his third year. He probably reigned only a short time. Is it improbable that Miamun Nut was a synonym for Shabatak? This, at all events, is extraordinary that in one of his inscriptions Pi ke ro ro, the prince of Pi sap tu, is made the leader of the confederates against whom he fought in Lower Egypt, while the same prince is mentioned in Assurbanipal's inscription already named, again showing that he and Tirhakah lived in the same generation. Now Tirhakah, as we know from Manetho, followed immediately after Shabatak, while it is now generally held that the Assyrian inscriptions prove that he married the widow of Shabak. Again, Tirhakah was succeeded by Urdamane, the son of his wife, i. e. his stepson, and who, according to Dr. Birch's reasonable conjecture, was a son of Sabako.

In regard to him we have a very singular circumstance. One of the most ingenious suggestions ever made in Egyptian history was that of Dr. Haigh, when he identified the Urdamane of Assurbanipal's cylinder with the Rudamon of the Egyptian inscriptions. This identification is now generally accepted, and has been so by Dr. Brugsch. This evidence that the son of Sabako actually employed two names strengthens very materially the argument that his father and brother did the same as I have argued. Lastly, Psammetichus the son of Neko, the son of

Tafnekht already mentioned, married the daughter of king Piankhi who ruled at Napatu, and thus united the royal families of Ethiopia and Egypt. Is it not exceedingly probable that this princess was the sister of Urdamane Tirhakah's immediate predecessor? The facts I have mentioned seem to hang very reasonably together, and offer at least a target for critics to fire their bolts at. They do explain what at present is a very quagmire of chronological and genealogical difficulties, and I only offer them as a tentative and plausible experiment in a singularly obscure congeries of difficulties.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

NOTES ON INDO-SCYTHIAN COIN-LEGENDS.

In the *B. & O. Record*, vol. II, p. 44, Sir A. Cunningham calls upon Zend scholars to interpret the legend **MAZΔOOANO** found upon an Indo-Scythian coin, the only trace of Zoroastrianism he can recognize upon such coins. It is possible that he means the Avesta language by the term 'Zend', but in this particular case it is a knowledge of the true Zend (that is, the Pahlavi language) which is necessary, because all the Iranian names and titles that Dr. A. Stein thinks he has recognized upon these coins (*B. & O. R.*, vol. I, pp. 155—166) bear a strong resemblance to Pahlavi, with a general leaning rather towards modern Persian than towards Avesta forms.

As the Indo-Scythian Greek **O** stands for *u, r* (Eng. *w*), *h*, and final *o*, it is easy to read *Mazdomano* as the epithet *Mazdō-vāno*, 'Mazda-smiting,' if it be possible to consider the particular king who uses the legend as an enemy of Mazda-worship. If not, it would be quite possible to read *Mazd-hrāno*, which (if *hrāno* = *ahvāno*) would mean 'the spiritual faculties of Mazda' (cf. *Dādīstān-i Dīnīk*, vii. 7).

With regard to Sir A. Cunningham's reasons for objecting to Dr. Stein's differentiation of **ϣ sh** from **P r**, with which it had hitherto been confounded, it can hardly be said that they are so convincing as those that might be given in favour of Dr. Stein's view. The strongest objection is undoubtedly that with reference to the word **AΘρO**, which reminds one very strongly of Pahl. *Ātāro*, 'the angel of fire,' and Av. *āthrō*, 'fire,' but the latter is a genitive form, the nominative being *ātarsh*, whence come Pahl. *ātāsh* (possibly *ātakhsh*, cf. *Syārahsh*, from Av. *Syārarshāno*) and Pers. *ātash*, the terms for 'fire' in general. The question, therefore, is whether **AΘρO** should be read *Āthrō*, the modification of **P** into **ϣ** being assumed

to be accidental, as Dr. Stein suggests, or whether it should be read *Áthsho* for *Áthasho*, in accordance with the Pahlavi and Persian ordinary names for 'fire.' To derive the name direct from an Avesta genitive, or other oblique case, merely because **Θ** is used instead of the rare **T**, seems hazardous, though apparently supported by the Greek form *Ἄθρα*. The Pahl. *Átáro* and Pers. *Ádar* are traceable to the crude form Av. *átare* used in compound words and names.

Sir A. Cunningham's crystal seal, with a royal head and the word *raú* in Aryan characters, appears to prove nothing to the purpose, unless it can be shown, not only that this *raú* means 'king,' but also that it refers to one of the particular kings who used the title **𐬰AONANO 𐬰AO** on their coins. The variants *Korsán* and *Korsná* for **KO𐬰ANO** rather tend to show that the latter was read *Kosháno*=*Kushán*; as we may suppose that the engravers first attempted to represent *th* by *rs* (or by *z* in **ZAOOY**) before they adopted a separate character for it. But, if the change were really one of pronunciation, it should not be forgotten that *r* before a sibilant is often dropped, as in Pers. *kishcar* from Av. *karshcare*, Pahl. *Áshtád* from Av. *Arshád*, &c.

The question whether the reading *sh* for **𐬰** furnishes an intelligible rendering in all cases appears to have been tolerably well answered already, and seems capable of still fuller reply. According to the materials supplied by Sir A. Cunningham and Dr. Stein there appear to be about a dozen names or titles in which the letter **𐬰** has been distinctly recognized. In **KANH𐬰KI**, **OOH𐬰KI**, and **KO𐬰ANO** it is admitted that we have the names which, in other characters, are written *Kamishka*, *Hawishka*, and *Kushán*; and if so, what right have we to assume that the *sh* was also pronounced *r*, when the probability of **𐬰** being the same letter as **P** has once been shown to be doubtful? The certainty of the title **𐬰AONANO 𐬰AO** being *sháhamáno sháh* (= *sháhausháh*) can hardly be proved more fully than it has been already by Dr. Stein; though the earlier title **ZAOOY**, quoted by Sir A. Cunningham, is surely a further confirmation. The reading *Shahrévaro* for **𐬰AOPOHPO** has also been fully considered by Dr. Stein; and the doubtful case of **AΘ𐬰O** has been discussed above.

In **O𐬰AA𐬰NO**, as an equivalent of Av. *Verethraghna*, we have to recollect that *eret* (*aret*, or *art*) and *ash* (or *esh*) are merely dialectical variants of the same sound, as in anc. Pers. *arta*=Av. *asha*, Av. *peretótanu*=*peshótanu*, and Pahl. *Ardarahisht*=*Ash.wahisht*; the change of *r* into *l* is also common, as in Av. *peretu*=Pahl. *páhal*=Pers. *pál* or *pal*, Av. *peresu*=Pahl. *páhlák*=Pers. *páhlá*; so that we seem quite

justified in reading *Vashlâgno* on the coins as equivalent to Av. *Vērethraghna*.

The identification of **APΔOXpO** with *Ashi vanguhī*, the personification of 'good rectitude' whose name is applied to the 25th day of the month, is more certain than has yet been shown. Her name is variously written in Pahlavi, as *Ashishrang*, *Ashishwang*, *Arshishrang*, *Ardishrang*, *Ardo*, and *Ard*; which last three forms are confirmatory of the general rule of *ard* being equivalent to *ash*. The Pahlavi word for 'good' is usually pronounced *vch*, in accordance with Pers. *beh*, but we have no Sasanian authority for this reading, and the word can, quite as well, be read *vash* and be identified with the rarer Pers. *vash*, *vash*t, or *vish*, which have the same meaning. Looking to Av. *vanghush*, 'good,' or some allied form, as the origin of the Pahlavi word, and noting the relation of such words as Av. *âkhshti*, *raokshna*, and *khshnâman* to Pahl. *âshth*, *rôshan*, and *shnâman*, we may readily suppose that *vash* may have been formerly *vaksh*. In confirmation of this view may be quoted the old Persian names *Vakhs* and *Vakshû* for the river Oxus (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xvii. p. 114), as the Bundahish (xx. 22, 28) informs us that the Balkh and Teremet rivers flow into the *Vch* river. We may therefore consider the identity of *Ard-vaksho* and *Ashi vanguhī* as almost certain. The variant **ΔOXpO** must, in that case, be taken as an imperfect legend; which seems, on the whole, quite as probable as the contraction of *Artu* + *Tukra* into *Ar.lokhro*.

In **ApAEIXpO** Dr. Stein is inclined to see an equivalent of Av. *Asharabishta*, if he could find a satisfactory explanation of the change of *sh* into *khsh*. Perhaps Pahl. *dakhshak* = Av. *dakhshita* may be quoted as an instance of the disappearance of *t* under nearly similar circumstances. The medial **EI** must stand for an original *hi*, or something analogous, as in **MEIPO** for *Mihir*, **TEIPO** for *tighri*; otherwise it might be supposed that *vaksho* had been substituted for *vakshita*, as Pahl. *vch* can be used for 'good, better, or best.' The usual Pahlavi equivalent for *vakshita*, 'best perfect,' when used independently, is generally read *pâhlâm*, a form that is occasionally replaced (see Pahl. Vend. xix. 47, 66; Pahl. Visp. ii. 3) by its dialectical variant *pâshâm*, or *pakhshâm*, which word could hardly take the form of *akhsho*; it is, moreover, rather a translation than a derivative of *vakshita*, being best explained as a member of the series *fratema*, *jartâm*, *jâshâm*, *jâhlâm*, 'first, chief, pre-eminent, best.'

The only remaining title said to contain the doubtful letter **p** is **OKpO**; it is connected with a personification that seems undoubtedly Indian, but, singularly enough, an appropriate Iranian reading of the title can be sug-

gested if the letter **p** stand for *sh*. Sir A. Cunningham recognizes the figure of *Siva* on the coin, and mentions that he represents Death; so that it may be safely assumed that Av. *aoshó*, 'death,' would be an appropriate title for *Siva*. Av. *aoshó* becomes *aósh* in Pahlavi, and it is a common Pahlavi irregularity to insert *k* between *ó* and *sh*, as in *Sóksháns* = Av. *Saoshyáns*, *anókskak* (Westergaard's *Bundahish*, p. 7, l. 18; p. 8, l. 3) = Av. *anaosha*, and *anókskakéh* (*ibid.* p. 42, l. 14). These last two instances are precisely to the purpose as *anókskak*, 'immortal,' is a negative adjective from *aósh*, 'death;' it is, therefore, quite justifiable to read *Oksho* as meaning 'Death,' if we are sure that **K** can be distinguished from **X** with absolute certainty on these coins. If not, we can read *Oksho* with the same meaning, assuming that the *kh* has been inserted as in Pahl. *nyókskhódanó* (Av. *niyush*), 'to hear'.

On the whole it must be admitted that a good case can be made out for the reading *sh* in nearly all occurrences of the letter **p**. And nothing but a careful re-examination of every type of these coins can now settle the question whether the letter **p** is ever used as a mere modification of **P**. If it be so, then some instances of **p** being used for an undoubted **P** can surely be found, as well as some instances of **P** being used for the usual **p**. But, as the difference between the two letters may sometimes be very slight, all such doubtful instances ought to be noted separately, as indeterminate.

E. W. WEST.

MAN HAN SI-FAN TSYEH-YAO,
A BUDDHIST REPERTORY
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.
(Continued from p. 196).

SECTION III (continued).

23. *Ūrdhrāṅgarōmva*: whose body hairs are upright. T. *Skuli spu ky du phyogs ba*, id. Min. *Ūrdhrāṅga*.
24. *Kōçagatavastigūhya*: whose *pubenda* are buried, and as it were hidden in a secret receptacle. T. *'doms kyi sba ba sbugs su nub-pa*. M. the secret parts hidden in the interior. Ch. *Ma-jin ts'ang*.
25. *Surattīrva* (?), T. *brla legs pa zlum pa*: with well-turned or modelled thighs; with beautiful, well-rounded, well-made thighs.
26. *Ucchānkhapatā* [read *pāda*].¹⁶ T. *pus moli, ltay ai ts'igs ni mtho*

- ba*, high-kneed, lofty, without knot. M., Mg. knee without swelling, Ch. with knee-bone strong, rounded, beautiful. Hodgson, *utsangapāda*. swollen, rounded like a breast.
27. *Mrdutarūyāhastapādātala*: T. *phyag dañ z'abs kyi. mthil 'jam z'in g'z'on pa chags pa*, having the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands delicate, tender, and soft to the touch. Ch. do. soft and flexible.
28. *Jālābandhahastapāda*¹⁷: Having the joints of feet and hands interlacing like the meshes of a net. T. *Phyag dañ z'abs kyi sor dra bai kbrel ba. id.* [Foucaux: 'whose fingers are united by a membrane'].
29. *Cakrāṅkitāhastapādātala*: with the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet marked with a wheel.¹⁸ T. *Phyag dañ z'abs kyi mthil hkhor lo mts'an pa. do.*, with a circle or disc. Ch. do. with a turning wheel. M. with the Buddhist prayer-wheel.¹⁹
30. *Supratishṭhitapāda*: T. *Z'abs gin tu gnas pa*: with well-posed, firmly-set feet. Ch. with the soles of the feet full. M. Mg. do.
31. *Añeyajāṅghana*: T. *byin pa ri-drags enyahi lta ba*: with antelope's, or deer's leg.²⁰ Ch. with shin of antelope (king of antelopes.)
32. *Āyatapādapashyī*: with wide and long stretching heels. T. *Z'abs kyi rtin ba gñs pa*: with the hind-part of the foot wide. M. Ch. do. round, or full. Hodgson, *āyatapashyī*. Min. *jangha*.

NOTES.

16) Lit. with feet like a long slender concha.

17) Lit. feet and hands of network. Hodgson, *jālābuddhavajrāṅgulīpāpādātala*.

Jālābandha . . . Burnouf translates "whose hands and feet have a net work," understanding it of the lines of the skin.

18) The Wheel of the Law (☸) which is also a figure of the superior power of Buddha. In India the *Cakradhara*, bearer of the disc, was the superior sovereign: the *Cakravartin*, he whose chariot could override everything, enjoyed the same privilege. These ideas are concentrated in the *Cakra* of Buddha. Vishnu also had for his badge the celebrated disc, whose violence broke all obstacles.

19) Bearing a prayer. As long as it turns, the faithful is considered to continue praying.

The *Lalitā Vistara* adds that these wheels are 'beautiful, resplendent, brilliant, white, with 1000 spokes, a felly, and a wave.'

20) Tibia. The Tibetan transcribes, as the Manchou and Mongol. *En'ya* from *Eni*, the antelope.

SECTION IV.

Bzauṅ brygad cūhi miñ la.¹

NAMES OF THE 80 MANLY BEAUTIES [OF BUDDHA].

1. *Ātāmrānākha*, T. *Sea mo zaus kyi mdog lta ba*, with copper-coloured nails.

2. *Snigdhanakha*², T. *Sen mo mlog snom pa*, with oily nails, shining like oil (Ch.).

3. *Tumvaganakha*³, with large raised nails. T. *Sen mo mtho ba*, with high nails. M. with arched nails, rising in the middle. Hodgson, *tunga*.

4. *Vindānguli* [read *Vṛttānguli*], with well-turned, rounded fingers. T. *Sor mo rnam sgyas ba*, Having broad nails as a mark. M. with thick nails. Ch. fingers round and full, without hollows (produced by thinness).

5. *Avapūrvānguli*⁵, with symmetrically arranged fingers, well-ordered and placed. T. *Sor mo rnam sbyin-gyis phra ba*, with marvellously ornamented fingers. M. with gradually tapering fingers, gracefully tapered. Ch. fingers long, delicate, and round.

6. *Pāryāngulī*⁶, T. *Sol mo zbon pa*, with well-rounded fingers. M, Ch., id.

7. *Nigāḍhasira*, with veins hidden, or sunk in the flesh. T. *rtsa mi mñon pa*, with veins not swollen, or evident (M.). Ch. veins sunken, without projection.

8. *Nigranthasira*, with veins without knot or entanglement. T. *rtsa mdul pa med pa*, id.

9. *Gādhaḡulka*, having the ankle-bone and bones of the feet sunken (not appearing). T. *Loñbu mi mñon pa*, ankle and bones not visible. Hodgson: *Gādhaḡulpha*.

10. *Avishampāda*, whose feet have no inequality⁷, or external fault. T. *Zabs mi mñom ba med pa*, id. M. with equal, well-made feet. Ch. as one would desire them.

11. *Sīḡharīkrāntagāmī*⁹, whose gait was the vigour and bravery of the lion. T. *Senge hi stabs su gcegs pa*, walking like a lion. Ch. majestic, full of dignity like a lion.

12. *Nāḡavīkrāntagāmī*, whose gait has the vigour of the elephant. T. *glan-po-c'ehi stabs su gcegs pa*, do.

13. *Hansarīkrāntagāmī*, having the deportment, the imposing gait of the swan. T. *ñan pahā stabs su gcegs pa*, id.

14. *Vṛshabharīkrāntagāmī*, having the vigorous gait of the bull. T. *Khyu mc'og gi stabs su gcegs pa*, id. ('as the best of the flock').

15. *Pradakshīḡyavṛttayāmī*⁹, T. *Gyas phyogs su ldog cññ gcegs pa*, whose gait is (firmly) directed forwards.

16. *Caruḡāmī*, with elegant gait, pleasing to see. T. *Mdzes par gcegs pa*, id. Ch. marching with gravity and dignity.

17. *Arakṛagāmī*, not walking sideways, or obliquely. T. *Mgyogs bar gcegs pa*, walking straight forward, without turning aside. Ch. walking

quite straight. M. do. without going aside, or turning aside.

18. *Vrttagâtra*, with well-turned limbs. T. *Sku khrii ba c'ags pa*. M., with majestic and beautiful body. Ch. body brilliant and soft.

19. *Mrshtagâtra*, with limbs (beautiful as objects) well-polished. T. *Sku bji dor hyab pa lta bu*, with body well cleaned. M. with body flawless, like a precious stone. Ch. with body brilliant, without stain.

20. *Anupârvagâtra*, with well-arranged limbs. T. *Sku rim par lt s'oms pa*, with limbs arranged in due order. Ch. arranged perfectly in their mutual relations.

21. *Çucigâtra*. T. *Sku gtsaṅ ba*, with pure, bright limbs. Ch. with pure body.

22. *Mṛḍṅagâtra*, T. *Sku hjam pa*, with delicate limbs.

23. *Viçuldhagâtra*, T. *Sku rnam par dag pa*, with limbs (or body) completely purified.¹⁰

24. *Paripârparyañjana*. Having all the signs of beauty, having contrived and completed all the qualities constituting beauty. T. *Mts'an rdzogs pa*, with complete marks. Ch. with the body completely filled, fulfilled.

25. *Samakrama*. Having the gait always equal. T. *gom ba sṛoms pa*, with equal steps. Ch. with regular, well regulated gait, (which is never either too hurried or too lazy).

26. *Prthucaramaṅḍalagâtra*. Having the limbs broad, graceful, rounded. T. *Sku Kho-lag yaṅs çin bzaṅ ba*, and M., with body and hands broad and handsome, pleasant to behold. Ch. Body well arranged in its parts and their relation, worthy of praise.

27. *Çuddhanetra*. With pure bright eyes. T. *Spyan dag ba*.

28. *Sukamâragâtra*,¹¹ with the limbs of a handsome young man. T. *Sku çin tu g'om mlag cau*, whose body has the brilliant colour of a young man. Ch. whose face, marvellous aspect is constantly like that of a young man.

29. *Adârvagâtra*.¹² Whose body is not bent. T. *Sku z'um pa med pa*, whose body is without weakness. Ch. body not bent. M. Hodgson, *adima*, not worn away.

30. *Utsadagâtra*,¹³ with limbs capable of bearing, resisting. T. *Sku rgyaspa*, with vigorous body. Ch. with body of sufficient desirable stoutness. H. *ghambhîrakushî*.

31. *Sasaṅhatagâtra*, with limbs well fixed, well arranged. T. *Sku çin lu hgrams pa*, H. *prasannaçâtra*.

32. *Suciḥaktâṅgapratyanga*, whose limbs and joints are quite inde-

- pendent and free. T. *Yan lag doñ ññ lag çin tu hbyedpa*. M. whose limbs and essential organs are well distinguished. Ch. whose articulations are (like) the parts of a pall-ek.
33. *Vitimirariçudaka loka*, whose eyes are exempt from all obscurity, are quite pure and clear. T. *Gzigs pa rab rib med, ciñ en om par dag pa*. Sight clear, excellent, quite pure¹³.
- 34-36. *Vrttakukshî, Mrstakukshî, Abhugnakukshî*: with belly well formed, or rounded; quite equal, not bent, sideways, well flattened. T. *Dka zlam pa; Dka S'tabs phyin pa; Dka na rñoms pa*. Ch. with thighs round and full; smooth and straight; without inequalities. M. with hips, &c. H. *Vitanga*, . . . *abhaya*.
37. *Kshâmôlara*, with flattened, not projecting¹⁶, belly. T. *Phyal phyaiñ ñe ba*, id. M. flat, well made. Ch. not projecting, not appearing Mg. Straight, without bend. H. *Akshobhakukshî*.
38. *Gambhîranabhi*: with deep, sunken navel. T. *Lte ba jab ba*, id. Ch. with navel deep, round and beautiful.
39. *Prakshîyavarttinabhi*: with round and straight navel. T. *Lte ba ghyos phyogs su khyâl ba*, navel turned in a straight direction. Ch. do. like a wheel.
40. *Samantaprasâdika*. Graceful on all sides. M. Perfectly made, with taste and art. T. *Kun nas mdzes pa*, id. Ch. beautiful, straight, majestic.
41. *Sthitanaranataprolambahutâ* [read *-pralambabâhuta*], whose arms hang beside his body when he is erect and not bent forward¹⁷. T. *bc'ens bc'iñ du, ma btud pan phyogs pas mor slob pa*. M. Ch. whose arms hang to his knees, when &c.
42. *Çucipamâcâra* [read *Samâbara*], of suitable and beautiful gait, or conduct. T. *Kun spyod gtsanba*, pure in every action. Ch. without obstacle (*puh ngai*). H. *Çucisamulâcâra*.

NOTES.

1) Mandchu and Mongol *Nairak* from Sk. *Narya*, manly.

Herein are collected all the features which in the eyes of the Hindus constituted the beauty of man, and they are attributed to Buddha, as sculptors seek to realise them in their works. Several do not agree with our esthetic appreciations. There are numerous differences between this enumeration and that in the *Lalita Vistara*, but they are not important enough to engage us in detail. Several are differently explained (See Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. V. pp. 91 seq. Hodgson's Essays).

2) *Suigha* means simply also 'smooth, soft, not rough'. Oil has always been used in the East as a term of comparison for all that is good, soft, or brilliant.

3) Word not used in classical Sk., translated in accordance with the

versions and tradition. Cf. Lat. *tamulus*. *Tamra*=fat, thick, plump.

4) Corrected according to the meaning preserved by tradition. Cf. No. 18.

5) *Anupāra*, lit. following what goes before, where what follows fits what precedes.

6) *Parī*, in the meaning 'having what it needs in every way'. *Pāryanguli*, equivalent to *citānguli*. Singhalese. The *Lalita* has *citra*, beautiful.

Nigranthigira, in the *Lalita*, *ghanasandhi*, articulations well joined and connected, well fitted together, which really comes to 'without knots'.

7) The one not larger or thicker than the other: no grossness, projection, &c.

8) This § and the following attribute to Buddha the mien of the four animals whose gait appears to the Hindus the most majestic and imposing and which they formerly attributed to their gods. *Sīḥarīkrāma* is a name for a king. Vide *Kathāsaritsagara*, lxx. 117.

9) In walking the legs are not unsteady nor misshapen; he has legs straight and firm, his gait is certain, not deviating from the straight line through weakness or infirmity. (No. 17, id.).

The *Lalita Vistara* adds *vastusampanna*, provided with a garment. A feeling of decency has caused this to be added, which shows the later date of the *Lalita*.

10) *Çuci* indicates the brilliancy of a beauty without flaw; *Viçuddha*, the disappearance of all stain, the purity necessary to fulfil a religious function. The T. *rvan-par*, piece by piece, renders *vi*. The L. V. adds *jāna magdala*.

11) *Sukumāra* indicates particularly tenderness; it is here taken in its etymological sense. *Kumāra* is a title of the war-god; it also distinguishes princes, the crown-prince. *Çin-tu=sa*.

12) This form *adāra* is unknown in classical Sk. It should be *adānta*, not tamed, not bent beneath the power or strength of another; or *anāmya*, not bendable (Foucaux, 'exempt d'abattement: Hodgson, *adīna*). L. V. *adīna*. Remusat has again translated the Ch. which supposes a different reading to *adīna*.

13. *Utsāda* must be a mistake; the word indicated by the versions is *atsāha*,---*Utsāh* means 'to withdraw from.' Hodgson's list has *utsā-hagāta*, which is not 'limb of effort,' (Burnouf), but 'limb capable of effort or support.' The L. V. has *annanata-g* for *annnatānata*, i.e., without any curve or irregularity.

14. Lit. well separated, distinct, the articulations not knotted.

15. The T. *rab-rib-med* means of a value having nothing above it.

16. A prominent belly is incompatible with the exterior of a penitent. That of Buddha is in conformity with the exigencies of his quality as an ascetic. *Tchāmodara*, L. V. *Tchāpodara*, belly rounded like the wood of the bow.

17) The Sk. has only 'pendant arms'; tradition adds 'to the knees'. This is the measure of well-made arms of correct length.

(To be continued).

C. DE HARLEZ.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

PURAṂDHĪ, THE GODDESS OF ABUNDANCE,
IN THE RIG-VEDA.

PURAṂDHĪ does not occupy any conspicuous place in the Rig-Veda. No hymn is addressed to her; but she is often mentioned, simply by name or with some indications which may lead to elaborate an idea of her character. This, however, at first sight is vague and changing. It is the aim of the present essay to abstract, from a careful examination of all the passages in which the deity occurs, the proper and original notion which underlies this seemingly incoherent character.

I.

PURAṂDHĪ IN RELATION TO ABUNDANCE.

- I, 5, 3. May Indra assist us in our struggle for riches, for Puramdhi;
May Indra come to us with spoil.
- I, 134, 3. (Vāyu yokes to his chariot the brilliant, the swift ones; O Vāyu,
Awaken Puramdhi, as the lover awakens the sleeping (girl).
Show forth the two worlds; clothe the dawns.
That they may be glorious; clothe the dawns.

Vāyu is invoked in this hymn as the giver of wealth: in the following verse the dawns are said to spread for him their light; the Cow, the symbol of abundance, to yield all good things to him. All these formulas are equivalent: to manifest the worlds, to clothe the dawns is the same as to make the dawns shine or the cow yield her symbolic milk. The sleeping Puramdhi represents the same female being that should be awakened, put into activity that wealth may come to me. The following quotation confirms this identity:—

- I, 158, 2. (O Aṅvins), who has so honoured you as to merit such a favour
That you deposited good things in the place of the cow by the
homage (rendered to you);
Coming (to us) with a mind ready to fulfil all desires,
Awaken for us the rich Puramdhis.

The favour bestowed by the Aṅvins is expressed here twice:

- They have laid down riches in the dwelling of the Cow;
They have awakened the rich Puramdhis.

This epithet *rich* removes every doubt as to the relation—identity of the *Puramdhis*, or their presidency over—the riches deposited with the *Cow-As* to the plurality of the *Puramdhis*, we shall have to speak of it further.

II. 1. 3. (O Agni) thou art the (heavenly) priest who possesses wealth:
O *Brahmanaspati*, thou, O ruler, art accompanied by *Puramdhi*!

Clearly *Puramdhi* is here another designation for wealth, so far even that we may doubt whether the word could not be translated as well by abundance: the same may be said of I, 5, 3 (above). One might even ask whether in the other above passages (I, 134, 3; 158, 2) the awakening of *Puramdhi* is not a mere metaphor. But in other passages the personification is certain.

III. 62, 11. We who become rich by the *Puramdhi* of god *Savitar*.
We implore the gift of *Bhaga*.

Puramdhi appears several times with *Bhaga*, the god of liberality: we may thus well admit here a parallelism: *Savitar's Puramdhi* is the same as *Bhaga's* favour or gift.

IV. 22, 10. O *Indra*, do hear our prayer:
Procure us excellent spoil:
Send to us all the *Puramdhis*:
Be to us, *Maghavan*, a cow-giver!

The parallelism between all the *Puramdhis* and all kinds of riches is clear. Let us note also the distinction between prayer and the *Puramdhis*:

IV, 50, 11. *Bṛhaspati*, *Indra* make us prosper:
11²=VII.97, 9², Let your favour be with us:

Help the prayers: awaken the *Puramdhis*:
Abate the enmities of the enemy, of the hurting ones.

The female principle is sometimes represented as being retained by the enemy, the demon. It is *Indra's* achievement to deliver her—to set her fertilizing gifts at liberty. The final sense is thus the same as in the preceding passage. I do not identify here the *Paramdhis* with the prayers, although they are occasionally identified, as will be seen afterwards.

VI. 49, 14. May *Bhaga* and *Puramdhi* impel us to richness.

VII, 35, 2. Let *Bhaga*, *Çamsa*, *Puramdhi*, the riches be propitious.

Puramdhi is named here with *Bhaga*, the god of liberality, with *Çamsa* (*Praise*), the riches. Of course nothing can be concluded from that juxtaposition which, however, is not merely accidental.

VII. 9, 6. O *Agni*, slay the noxious (enemy), honour *Puramdhi*, to (obtain) wealth.

This is the first time we meet with a verse where *Puramdhi* is personified, or at least distinguished from the riches she is expected to bestow

on men.

- VII, 32, 20. The zealous only acquires spoil, by Puramdhi, his ally,
 I incline to me the much-invoked Indra,
 by my song as the carpenter (bends) a fire of fine wood.
- X, 90, 4. O Soma, who possessest large domains, make for us secure
 (wealth) :
 (Give or acquire) by thy purification, the two conjunct
 Puramdhis,
 Procure us by thy (sacred) cry all kinds of spoil.

Soma is requested to procure by his sacrificial action the two Puramdhis, viz., the boons of heaven and earth.

- IX, 93, 4. Thou, O Pavamāna (Soma), with the gods, be favourable.
 O Indra, and break open (the source of) horse-wealth;
 May Puramdhi propitious move her chariot
 to us in order to give riches

IX, 110, 3 In this verse which will be translated elsewhere Puramdhi is called *gojīrā*, who has swift cows, viz who gives rain, light, etc.

- I, 180, 6. O Aṅvins, when you yoke your chariot, O, liberal gods,
 You pour out Puramdhi, according to your custom.

- I, 116, 7. O Aṅvins, for the praising Pajriya
 Kakṣivat you broke open Puramdhi.

In these two verses Puramdhi is simply the impersonal receptacle of the gifts which the gods bestow on men.

Till now we have made no remark on the plurality of the Puramdhi which appears in some preceding and in many following passages. The gods are many and conceived of as having each a particular lot of good things assigned in order to distribute them to men. (This idea occurs twice in I, 164 and elsewhere). Hence, each god is united with a Puramdhi. This plurality is not in the least strange, when we take into account the vagueness of this personality, which is poured out, &c. (Cf. *Conclusion*).

II.

PURAMDHI IN RELATION TO PRAYER.

In the second series of passages relating to Puramdhi we shall show once more the goddess of abundance. These passages are not distinguished from the former save by the 'connection' of the word Puramdhi to the word which signifies prayer, or even by the occasional identification of Puramdhi with the prayer. This identification was almost inevitable; prayer is a first element of sacrifice; it procures all good things by rendering the gods propitious, or even in making them give, as if mechanically, the riches of which they dispose. These considerations would be more than sufficient to our poets so fond of connections of all sorts to justify in their

eyes the assimilation and occasionally the identification of Prayer and *Puramdhi*.

VII. 64, 5. O Mitra-Varuna, favour the prayers, awaken the *Puramdhis*.

VII. 67, 5. (O Aṅvins, favour my prayer for victory.)

Incline all the *Puramdhis* to (obtain) spoil;

Help us by your Powers, you Lords of Power.

In the first of these two verses the favour bestowed on the prayers may be the same as the awakening of the *Puramdhis*; the prayer well-made and favourably received by the god may be the cause of his awakening the *Puramdhis*; the same may be said of IV. 50. 11², VII. 97. 9². But in IV. 22. 10, the exaudition of the prayer is surely the condition or cause of the bestowing of riches or the emission of the *Puramdhis*; in I. 134. 3 the awakening of *Puramdhis* is surely the same as the illumination of the world's light, being considered as the most excellent of divine gifts. Therefore, we will in our passage distinguish *Puramdhi* and prayer in the same way. As to the second passage, the verbal assimilation of both is very strong, but still they can be held distinct as in the former passages; and because they can, we must do so with respect to the verses in which the distinction is necessary. The *Puramdhis* seem to be identified with the Powers, *Ṣaci*, of the Aṅvinā *Ṣaciṣpati*, which *Ṣacis* remind us strongly of the *Ṣaktis* or female Energies of the later Hindu mythology.

We now proceed to other verses where *Puramdhi* is distinct from prayer.

VII. 35, 6, 8, Put into activity the great Aramati,

and Pūṣan as the hero of the assembly;

Bhaga, who favours this our prayer;

Puramdhi the bountiful to (obtain) spoil.

This verse has two parallel divisions: in the first appears *Pūṣan*, a god of agricultural prosperity with Aramati or Piety; in the second Bhaga, the liberal god *par excellence*, with *Puramdhi*, clearly distinct from prayer.

V. 41. 6. May the yearning *Puramdhis*, who honour the order,

The rich wives, apply us here to prayer.

Here the personality of the *Puramdhis* is plain, nor less plain is their distinction from prayer.

Before proceeding to another set of texts more open to doubt or discussion, let us recall attention to II. 1. 3 (above) where Agni is said to possess wealth, and, as lord of Prayer is accompanied by *Puramdhi*.

II. 38, 10. May *Narāçansa*, the lord of (heavenly) wives,

Help us who strengthen Bhaga, Dhī (Prayer) *Puramdhi*.

X, 65, 13. May all the gods hear my words

- Sarasvatī with the prayers (dhīs) and Puramdhi.
 X, 65, 14. May all gods with the Prayers (dhīs) and Puramdhi,
 enjoy my hymn.
 VIII, 92, 5. O bull (Indra), help us with Dhī (Prayer), Puramdhi,
 the most conquering one, the terrible, the swift.

Nothing can be concluded from the mere juxtaposition of Prayer and Puramdhi; their identification must be denied on account of the above passages, where they are distinguished. This juxtaposition may, however be founded on the poet's view of their common characteristics.

- VIII, 69, 1. Bring your hymn (trīṣṭubh) your nourishment to Indu (Soma) who inebriates the heroes;
 He aspires to the conquest of sacrifice by prayer and Puramdhi.

Soma, by itself, is not fit for sacrifice; it must be mixed with milk, &c. and accompanied by prayers. There is no reason whatever to identify here Prayer and Puramdhi. This last represents simply the benevolent liberality of Soma, just as in the case of the other gods. If an identification has been made in the mind of the poet, it seems more natural to think of the ingredients mixed with the sacred liquor.

- X, 112, 15. This soma, O Indra, excites your mighty Puramdhi:
 This soma, pressed for you, to inebriate you.

The sense is good, although another sense could be obtained by relating *te* to Indra = *for thee*, scil. Soma moving to Puramdhi, prayer or the admixed offerings for Indra, without which Soma is unfit for sacrifice. But this is less probable, because of the epithet, *tavisī*, which applies more naturally, in the context, to Indra's Puramdhi.

III.

PURAMDHI AND SOMA.

Puramdhi is mentioned with Soma in nine passages, several of which have already been explained. Soma being *par excellence* a beneficent deity, his union with our goddess is quite natural. On another side Soma is an element of sacrifice, in which it must always be united with other ingredients, and adorned by prayers or hymns; these are an absolute condition of Soma's efficiency for procuring heavenly gifts. As they are often called the wives or sisters of Soma, their confusion with Puramdhi would seem almost necessary. In fact this confusion is very rare. Several passages have quite another signification. Soma is a celestial deity as well as a material for sacrifice, and Puramdhi represents also the female cosmic element, as we shall see when speaking of her relations with the Aëvius. Now sacrifice, of which Soma is the most excellent part, is believed to act upon that cosmic principle of fecundity. The few cases where Puramdhi seems really to be confused with the female sacrificial

concomitants of Soma cannot be taken into account, for the proper and original conceptions of this goddess, as this confusion is merely occasional, and is very easily explained in another manner. In verse IX, 93, 4, already translated, Soma may be the sacrificial Soma, and we might translate: *by (the action of) the gods*. But it seems preferable to consider him as one of the gods whose liberality is invoked. In the first case Puramdhi would be in her general rôle, as the Puramdhi of the gods; in the second, she belongs alike to Soma and to the other gods.

IX, 97, 36. O Soma, enter into Indra with loud noise,
Make the word increase, bring forth Puramdhi.

Soma is requested to go to Indra, increasing the word or voice, the heavenly voice of Indra's thunder, and so putting into action the heavenly warrior's *liberality*, viz., causing the heavenly waters, Indra's spoil, to flow down on earth.

IX, 90, 4. (translated above) speaks clearly of the sacrificial Soma's action on the cosmic female, here conceived as twofold.

IX, 110, 3. O Pavāmana, thou hast generated the sun,
to distribute with force the liquor;
hastening with Puramdhi, who has swift cows.

Soma is evidently the heavenly deity, in company with Puramdhi, the symbol of his beneficence towards men.

The following passages present the occasional confusion of Puramdhi with the accompaniments of the sacrificial Soma, conceived as female entities.

IV, 34, 2. (O Rbhus) the inebriating drinks and Puramdhi come to
you.

IX, 72, 4. Soma the master of the cows
who possesses Puramdhi; accomplishes man's sacrifice;
the brilliant Soma is purified by prayers for thee, O Indra!

Soma, the master or husband of the cows, the female elements of the sacrifice; who possesses Puramdhi; who is purified by prayer; all these seem to be equivalent formulas. Nevertheless, Puramdhi need not be regarded as identified with the cows or with prayer; the epithet *puramdhirān* may be an allusion to the heavenly Soma, so as to render the assimilations almost rhetorical.

X, 112, 5. For thee, O Indra, Soma rushes upon the mighty Puramdhi,
for thee, it is pressed, to inebriate you.

If we admit this to be the true sense (cf. *suprà*), we have here at last a formal identification of Puramdhi with the female sacrificial elements.

Puramdhi is also mentioned with Soma in IV, 26 and 27. But these passages are most obscure and controverted. It is precisely with a view

to elucidate them (if possible) that we have undertaken this detailed study on Puramdhi. In no case will the result of our study be altered by the explanation of these hymns.

IV.

PURAMDHI AND THE AṢVINS.

The conception of Puramdhi as set forth above has been embodied in the myth of the Aṣvins so as to give her a sensibly different aspect. The Aṣvins are two essentially beneficent deities, healers of sickness, blindness, sterility, and the like. Puramdhi sometimes plays with them her ordinary rôle; at other times, however, she is conceived of as the object of their healing agency. The origin and sense of this mythological phraseology has been duly investigated and exposed by Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, II, 476, &c. The idea of a female cosmic principle from which are derived light, water, and generally all good, pervades the whole Rig-Veda. How far this idea is related to that of Puramdhi I shall not now examine; they seem to me to be of different origin altogether. In themselves, however, they have enough analogies to occupy the lazy and musing phantasy of the Brahmans. The cosmic female, during night or dryness, is often conceived of as being within the power of a demon who cannot fecundate her, and from whom she is delivered by Indra, who slays the enemy. This same idea, when entering into the myth of the Aṣvins, who are no warriors but peaceful physicians, must be transposed to this new tune. The demon becomes a man who is impotent or wifeless; in the first case the Aṣvins bestow fecundity on Puramdhi; in the second, they marry her to the wifeless man.

The verses I, 158, 2; I, 180, 6; VII, 67, 5 have already been translated; they have no special connexion with the myth of the Aṣvins: the same must be said of—

I, 181, 9. O Aṣvins, saying, "You are like Pūṣan and Puramdhi."
the offering men praises you like Agni and Uṣas.

The following verses, on the contrary, represent Puramdhi as viewed from the standpoint of the Aṣvin-myth.

X, 39, 7. You, O Aṣvins, came at the call of the eunuch's wife,
you made good progeny for Puramdhi.

I, 116, 13. O Nāsatyas, Puramdhi invoked you as helpers,
You who have many good things (she invoked) at the
great sacrifice;
This appeal of the eunuch's wife was heard as an order,
You gave (her), O Aṣvins, (a son) Hiranyahasta (or
the golden-handed.)

I, 117, 19. You, O Aṣvins, Puramdhi invoked,
You came, O bulls, with aid!

17.

PURAṂDHI AND THE DAWN.

Uṣas, the dawn, is a female deity, who brings to man light and life; in many cases she is identified with the cosmic Female. With these characteristics she could hardly escape occasional assimilation with *Puraṁdhi*; in fact, the two following verses may be thus explained:

III. 61, 1. O goddess Uṣas, as the ancient and young *Puraṁdhi*, you
walk according to law. . . Or: You, ancient,
young, *Puraṁdhi*, (who are in many respects like P.) . . .

The verse I, 123, 6, which had first been brought under this head, contains no assimilation of the kind.

Rise up, excellent gifts : rise up, *Puraṁdhis* :
the brilliant fires have risen up.
The beloved riches hidden by darkness,
the radiating dawns make to appear !

The excellent gifts are the light, and even all earthly things which are re-vivified, and, so to say, rendered to man by the first lights of day-break. The *Puraṁdhis* are the sources of these goods, and clearly distinguished from the Dawns.

One remark more, and a general one, on the preceding assimilations. They all may as well be based on the etymological sense, real or supposed by the rishis, as on the objective resemblances of our goddess with Prayer or Uṣas. *Puraṁdhi* looks very much as containing verbal elements with the sense of: 'who contains, who places, who gives Plenty, abundance.' In so far the translators who render alternately this word by *Puraṁdhi* and by Plenitude are right. Nevertheless, I think it more aptly translated always as a proper name, under which the reader has to understand the deity as it is conceived of by the poets, viz., as a vague personality which is not definitely distinguished from the function or object it personifies.

17.

We now proceed to a few passages where *Puraṁdhi* is only named.

The only light thrown on her results from the constant vicinity of such gods as Bhaga or Pūṣan, well known for their relations with riches or prosperity.

II. 31, 4. May Tvaṣṭar with the wives . . . impel the chariot :

Ilā, Bhaga and Brhaddivā, Rodasī.

Pūṣan, *Puraṁdhi* : the Aṣvins, the Lords (also)

VI. 21, 9. (O Indra,) put forth to help us . . .

Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Agni, *Puraṁdhi*,

Savitar, the plants and mountains.

VII, 39, 4. O Agni, honour . . . Bhaga, the Aṅvins, Puramdhi.

X, 64, 7. Put forth by your hymns Vāyu who attels the chariot, Puramdhi. (*Or* : Vāyu, Puramdhi who attels the chariot) . . . Pūṣan.

X, 85, 36. Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitar, Puramdhi gave you (the spouse) to me.

Puramdhi is named together with Bhaga or Pūṣan in some preceding passages more.

VII.

CONCLUSION.

In the texts hitherto translated and commented Puramdhi displays one steady characteristic: that of a deity intimately related on one side to riches or abundance, and on the other side to a god from whom she proceeds. Rarely is she mentioned alone—two or three times; but we may reasonably suppose that the god was not absent from the mind of the poet or of his hearers. The relation to abundance takes a peculiar character in a few passages where Puramdhi is incorporated in the myth of the Aṅvins. As for the few instances where she is identified with other female deities, these cannot outweigh the many cases where she appears as the personification of abundance proceeding from various gods: nay, the inconstancy of these assimilations is enough to prove that they are merely occasional, if not altogether rhetorical.

These considerations lead us to portray Puramdhi as an entity representing *the principle from which flow the gifts of the gods to men, and which is conceived as united with the beneficent deities themselves*. This principle may be called *a goddess*, in so far as it is often treated as a person; at other times it appears as impersonal, or quite indefinite in regard of personality. This circumstance seems to indicate that the rishis did not elaborate a clear idea on this point: in fact, they speak of Puramdhi as a being personal or impersonal, according to present or individual inspiration.

These features we regard as the proper and primitive conception of Puramdhi, who has almost a counterpart in the Avestic Pāreñdi. The comparison with Pāreñdi, which is the subject of the following appendix, will remove the last doubt as to the conclusions of this essay.

APPENDIX.—THE AVESTIC *Pāreñdi*.

Pāreñdi is thus described by de Harlez ("Introduction à l'étude de l'Avesta," &c., p. cviii.): "She is ordinarily invoked with Ashi Vanuhi (benediction or sanctity) and other allegorical beings of moral order, as justice, law, &c. . . . With Ashi Vanuhi, she clears the way for Tistrya,

and follows Mithra on his triumphal march."....."It is not easy to abstract from these indications the true notion of the Pāreñdī. The (Pehlvi) tradition represents her as the genius of hidden treasures; she is, perhaps, the genius of richness, of abundance like the Vedic Puramdhi, whose name signifies also "treasure." As such Pāreñdī accompanies Ashi Vanuhi or benediction, who bestows heavenly boons,—law and justice, sources of benediction; she opens the way for Tistrya, the heavenly body which gives fertility, and for Mithra, the protector of fields and their treasures."

Moreover, this author remarks :

1. That Pāreñdī is once taken as a common name, and is once used in the plural.

2. That her epithets are *raoratha* and *revi*, which he interprets: *having a swift* (or *retentissant*) *chariot* and *active, quick*.

The many and striking analogies between both goddesses will easily be made by the reader himself.

The first epithet recalls the chariot with which our Puramdhi is also in relation, and especially the verb *rathirāyātām* of ix, 93, 4. The moral character of Pāreñdī suggests the idea that the assimilation of our Puramdhi to a moral deity may be very ancient: but this may be independent on both sides, in India and in Iran. We need not dwell on the numerous analogies of both goddesses; they are so striking that they occur at first sight.

NOTE.—THE ETYMOLOGY OF PURĀMDHĪ.

The various etymologies proposed for Puramdhi are cited in Bergaigne, "Religion védique." II, p. 477. From a formal point of view, I would not take the first part *puram* as a synonym of *purā*, *puras*, because this preposition and its cognates show always an *u* (*o*) in Zend; *paouryō*, *paourryō*; the root *par*, to fill, on the contrary, has never the *u*, in Zend, although the Sanskrit shows often *u*, *ū*.

Now, it is not easy to separate etymologically the names of these most intimately related deities. Therefore I venture to propose an etymology which is new, in some respect Puramdhi (and also Pāreñdī) are composed of *puram* (*pārem*) plenty, richness, and *dhi*, weak form of *dhā*, with the sense of the *atmanepadan* as in *uladhī* (which contains water); *oshadhī* (which contains,?) and signifying therefore: which contains plenty, richness or treasures. This etymology is altogether satisfactory for all the uses of the word—even for the etymological plays of the poets and is free from any objection on the formal side.

PH. COLINET.

1) Not even in *pōuru*, much, which is for **paru*, *pa* (*u*) *ru* by epenthesis. Cf. old Persian *paru*, just as *rouru* for **raru*, Sanscrit *var*(*īyas*) &c.

[Italics have been used in the foregoing article instead of the usual diacritical marks.]

PHYSIOLOGY AMONG THE ANCIENT ASSYRIANS.

In the British Museum, Nimroud Gallery, No. 3A, is an Assyrian basso-relievo representing a "bull-hunt" in the reign of Assurnasirpal—about 880 B.C. The king is represented as standing on a chariot, with a bull close to him. With the left hand he has the bull by the horn, and with the right hand he is thrusting a dagger-like blade into the back of the bull's neck, just at the spot which would correspond with the line between the 'occiput' bone of the skull and the 'atlas' vertebra of the spinal column. The bull is represented as alive, and struggling.

I do not think that this figure could have been meant by the sculptor in any way to represent the act of cutting off the animal's head. A totally different knife or chopper would have been put in the king's hand, if that were the case. Nor could it have been meant for the act of bleeding the animal to death by cutting across some of the large cervical blood-vessels. The Assyrians, with their warlike habits, their love of the chase, and their customs of animal sacrifices, and of eating animal food, must have known that the main blood-vessels of that region were at the side and *front* of the neck, and not at the place where the point of the blade is being thrust.

No, I think the act of this figure admits of a different and very interesting interpretation.

In the south of Europe I have seen cattle slaughtered for the market. A thick rope is looped round the animal's horns, and pulled through a stout iron ring, fixed in the floor of the slaughter-house. The animal is then dragged by this means until its head is close to the ground, and fixed by the ring. Then the butcher takes a double-edged sharp knife, shaped like a bleeding-lancet, and of the size of a broad dagger, and thrusts it into the back of the animal's neck between the occiput and the atlas, so as to completely divide the spinal marrow, close to its attachment with the brain.

In an instant, as if struck by lightning, the animal falls to the ground like a dead weight, the brain having no longer any control over the body. The animal's legs continue to move convulsively by what are called "reflex" currents.

The carcase is then bled, and finally skinned, &c. By means of a sharp knife, as described, this operation of paralyzing a large animal in this way, appears to be done, with the greatest ease, and as if a person

were thrusting an ordinary knife into a pie-crust.

In Spain this same mode of paralysing a bull appears to be known, as it is used for finally despatching the animal by means of a sword in their bull-fights. I believe the same mode of slaughtering cattle is practised in South America, introduced there probably, by the Spaniards.

Now, where did the bull come from in the South of Europe? In Assyria the bull appears to have been not only one of the wild animals, but the Assyrians must have known it from very ancient times; for in the *B. & O. R.*, vol. I. No. 3. p. 39, under the heading of "Babylonian Teraphim," by W. St. Chad Boscawen, I find that the figures of winged bulls placed at the entrances of the palaces were of Akkadian origin, and used as talismanic figures to represent "the guardians of the royal footsteps—the opponents of evil."

Judging, then, from the sculpture alluded to in the British Museum, I would incline to the notion that the bull reached the south of Europe from Assyria, which it could have easily done through the Phœnicians, or other ways. If so, I think the probability is that the method of slaughtering cattle now practised in Sicily and Spain and other places was imported with the bull. Curiously enough the knife, in the hand of the figure on the monuments, is shaped like a slaughtering knife.

Studying the bas-relief in question, and also studying the realism of the Assyrian artists, I have not much doubt in my mind that this ancient artist meant to represent the king Assurnasirpal as despatching the bull in this scientific and speedy manner. Of course it was absurd to represent a man holding a wild bull by the horn, but in those days a king, descendant of Nimrod, or from some god, was understood to have the power of doing *anything*.

Thus it would appear that in Europe, we have received from Assyria not only the beginnings of our civilization in many directions, but we may have probably also received from the Assyrians, the beginning of an important physiological fact, viz. that division of the spinal-chord, at the base of the brain, paralyses the whole body, as far as the *will* is concerned.

Of course I do not pretend to maintain that the Assyrians were so advanced in scientific knowledge as to know the real reason of this result. I would, however, maintain that they probably had found out the *practical* effects of what they did, viz., that a formidable animal, of the size and strength of a bull, could be at once paralysed, and rendered manageable by this simple and easy operation.

E. BONAVIA.

CHIPS OF BABYLONIAN AND CHINESE PALEOGRAPHY.

THE general conditions of scientific criticism, in which these researches may be carried out with chances of success, have been explained in our previous paper on *The Old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives*. We need not, therefore, enter again into the matter, which we shall supplement and complete gradually with the progress of our studies. As to the historical side of these questions, it may be useful, however, here to acquaint those of our readers who may not have seen the tractate referred to, that our conclusions, in resumé, were the following :





The art of writing in Babylonia did not originate on the spot, nor was it originally from a northern land ; it was brought in, as the tradition records it, by way of the Persian Gulf from a southern country.










The Chinese Bak tribes, who carried the civilisation of Susiana=Elam to China N.W. about 2250 B.C., were taught to write in a cursive style, the old, corrupted and already cuneiform characters of Babylonia, some time previously to their migration eastwards. The first of these two statements is still in discussion, but the second is already a demonstrated fact, admitted by most of the eminent scholars in Assyriology and Sinology.


I.—𒍪 𒍫 and 河.

The symbol for 'river' in the Babylonian script has been al- luded to as a double ideograph, like that for ship,¹ while another authority explains it as 'water + channel + flow ;² these two state- ments have come forward since our contention that the inventors of the writing which became afterwards that of Babylonia had no primitive symbol for 'river.' Notwithstanding these contradictions, more apparent than real to our opinion, we venture to think that we are not wrong in our view, and we maintain our contention for the reasons which follow. The study of such words is interesting under many respects, the least not being the insight which can be gathered from it, about the state of civilization of the primitive writers of this once celebrated script.

To begin, we must remark in the double ideogram 𒍪 𒍫 is that the first symbol 𒍪, 'water,' may be simply the determinative prefix

probably mute when the context did not require its vocal rendering in colloquial. If such is the case, the second character may be that of 'river,' and in that case we are wrong in our contention that such a character did not exist. But if the character 'water' is indispensable to the sense and an integral part of the complex symbol, then the second character is not the representative of a hieroglyph for river, and we are right in our statement³. Should the symbol  be the modern form of a primitive pictograph for 'river,' it ought to have been employed by itself with the proper names of rivers; but such is not the case, and the double ideogram is required. In none of the nine names of rivers which I can refer to in the authorities at my disposal⁴ is the symbol  employed alone; the sign  'water,' must always be prefixed to it, and this shows that alone the symbol in question has not by itself the meaning of river. The double ideogram is therefore a unit and cannot be separated. A short examen of the symbol  in its history as an ideograph is therefore interesting to supplement and confirm or disprove these remarks.

In the inscriptions of Hammurabi the sign  has still the form  which in the earlier inscriptions of Gudea is : .⁵ The outside line otherwise the enclosure, which it represents pictorially, is the well-known  HAL, modern , meaning to collect, to gather⁶. The inside  symbol, we know it to be⁷ a variant of , which becomes  in modern script⁸. It represented an arrow⁹, and more probably a shower of arrows, whence the idea of rushing, fear, hostility, expressed by the various words it symbolises. Therefore the ideographic composition of the symbol  *eur* would suggest 'rushing out the enclosure or of the deep.' It would suit for an ideograph of a spring or source, whence its actual meaning, *apsu*, 'the deep of the flowing waters.' From its primitive meaning it was applied to heaven¹⁰, *zikum*; in Assyrian *samu*¹¹.

To resume, we may say that the character  did not figure 'a river,' and that it was only in the case of its composition with the sign for 'water' that their association into a double ideogram expressed the meaning of river, *id.* I am, consequently, justified in my contention that the primitive writing which became that of Babylonia did not possess an original ideograph for 'river.' As a confirmation of the above statement, the Chinese Bak tribes do not seem to have ever learnt to write a symbol special for river: at the very beginning they made use of the character 水 *shui*, water, for that purpose. Afterwards they framed an ideophonetic compound 河 made of *shui* 'water', as mute determinative and *ho* a phonetic, in order to render the word used in N. China for river.


And in the same way they framed the compound 江 *Kiang* for the same meaning, when they became acquainted with this word in use southwards of the other.¹² On the other hand in the same early script of the Baktrians there are simple symbols for 'source' 泉 and 'stream' 川, which we shall trace one day to their Babylonian antecedents.

NOTES.

- 1) A. H. Sayce, *Nature*, 7 June, 1888, and *B. O. R.* II, 220.
- 2) W. St. Chad Boscawen, *B. O. R.* II, 226.
- 3) Another argument in favour of my view is the reading *id.*, 'river' for the double ideogram, while the same sound does not belong to any of the symbols separately. Cf. below.
- 4) Cf., for instance, the names given in J. Ménant, *Le syllabaire Assyrien*, vol. I, pp. 129, 167, 168; H. Pognon, *Les Inscriptions Babylonniennes du Wadi Brissa* (Paris 1887) p. 145; P. Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 36.
- 5) Amiaud et Michineau: *Tableau comparé des Ecritures Babylonniennes et Assyriennes Archaiques et Modernes*, No. 284; J. Ménant, *Eléments d'Épigraphie Assyrienne*, No. 78; Ed. Chossat, *Répertoire Assyrien*, No. 573.
- 6) Amiaud, 282; Ménant, 69; Chossat, 219; T. G. Pinches, *Sign list*, 221.
- 7) *W. A. I.*, II, 62, l. 1.
- 8) Amiaud 9, Ménant 196, Pinches 2, Chossat 10, Brunnow, 73-82.
- 9) Cfr. Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, p. 311.
- 10) On this meaning cfr. the remarks of Prof. A. H. Sayce in his *Hilbert Lectures for 1887*, p. 375.
- 11) This second meaning has had a curious effect on the palæographic history of the symbol. At the time of Nebuchadnezzar and Esarhaddon the scribes inserted the character for 'god' 𐎠 modern 𐎠 inside, instead of the original 𐎠 modern 𐎠 explained above.
- 12) On this point, cf. our book: *The languages of China before the Chinese*, Sec. 181.

II.-- 𐎠𐎠𐎠 = 舟.

The symbol for 'boat' MA. Assyrian *elippu* which we have examined in another paper¹, is not at all in the same conditions as the complex ideograms for 'river' we have just discussed. It was a genuine pictography of a boat which in course of secular alterations and transformations has lost its hieroglyphic appearance, and it has no need of another character to combine the sense and express the meaning of 'boat'. It is often preceded in the texts of Nebuchadnezzar by the prefix determinative 𐎠 (Grîš) 'wood' indicative of all that is made of wood, but this is no part integral of its symbolism. The proof may be seen in the use of the character 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *mt* alone with its sense-value of 'boat' in many cases. Some have been exemplified in

the pages of the *B. O. R.* last year,² though not reproduced then in the cuneiform script³. In the native lists of characters  is explained alone as MA in Sumero-Akkadian and *clippu*, 'boat,' in Assyro-Babylonian⁴; while ID and *uû'ar* are given as the explanation of the group A-GUR, and not as that of the second sign alone⁵. This fact settles the question, and we may safely contend that the primitive script which became the Babylonian did possess a hieroglyphic for 'boat,' but none for river, as we have already shown in the previous paragraph. In early Chinese the symbol is also a simple one, and its shape as befits to the case is distinctly imitated from the old Babylonian form, as we have seen in a previous paper.⁶

NOTES.

1) *The old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivatives*, sec. 36 (*B. O. R.* II, 87). We are indebted to Prof. A. H. Sayce for having pointed out our mistake in quoting the character for 'boat' the sound for *zik* which we found in Ménant 361 and Chossat 263. It does not occur in Dr. Rud. E. Brunnow's *Classified list*, where the character is instanced 3681-3701, to which we had no access at the time of writing our above quoted paper.


2) Cfr. T. G. Pinches, *The Babylonians and Assyrians as maritime nations* (*B. O. R.* I.) p. 41.


3) Some of them may be seen in Brunnow's *Classified list*, 3686-3701.

4) Cfr. *W.A.L.*, II, 2.







5) Cfr. Ed. Chossat, *Répertoire Assyrien* 58; T. G. Pinches, *Sign list*, 2506; Ménant 15; Haupt, p. 36 (873).

6) *Old Bab. Char.* sec. 36. The old Babylonian form given there was from a text in archaic characters of Nebuchadnezzar II, and the oldest instance given in Amiaud's *Tableau comparé*. Its similarity to the form of the same sign in Gudea's inscriptions shows that the archaism was genuine. I have taken great care in my paper, in that case as in the five others where the forms did not appear in Hammurabi's texts, and I was compelled to quote a form of the archaisms, that it should correspond exactly to the earliest forms, and in some cases be supported by the earliest Assyrian. There is no room, therefore, for the unfair criticism of Mr. C. Bezold in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archaeology*, June 5th, pp. 420-421. The plasticity of the Babylonian script, which I have described (*ibid.* sec. 33) and to which Prof. Sayce with much greater authority has called attention (*B. O. R.* II, p. 219) must not be forgotten.


III.— = 其.

This character has been quoted by Mr. W. St Chad Boseawen, *Babylonian Canals*, in its meanings of *Nagabu* 'a canal,'¹ *Khagalu* 'to irrigate,' and referred to a pictorial hieratic  compounded of 'channel' and flowing water'. The similarity between the modern Assyrian form here quoted and the hieratic, is indeed most striking, and

in my opinion too much so to be true, if we bear in mind the three thousand years of wear and tear and script decay which separate the two forms of characters. It is a moon-shine and nothing more. Such sheer coincidences when they happen are most deceptive, but they must not blind us. It would be anomalous to an extreme degree, and an unheard-of phenomenon in palæography, that a modern form of a written character, of which the regular antecedents and older forms are pretty well known, should have alone preserved the original shape, while these antecedents go back most clearly to an entirely different hieratic form which occurs in the earliest inscriptions hitherto known.

The modern Assyrian  and Babylonian  as shown in the most valuable *Tableau comparé des Ecritures Babylonienne et Assyrienne, archaïques et modernes*, by MM. A. Amiard and L. Méchineau², go back through seven gradiant forms of older times to the actual form in the inscriptions of the canals of Hammurabi . which is the regular cuneatic transformation of  the hieratic form of the symbol as it occurs in the *Stèle des Vautours*. The latter form, however, is sufficiently divergent from an original pictograph, for its formation to be still unclear. The upper part might have been in  modern Babylonian and Assyrian scripts  called *Kasu* in the phraseology of the scribes; its various meanings of liquid, drink, rain, agree with its pictorial outlines, which suggest a filled up vase; but the fact that there are only two strokes inside of the vase-like figure of the complicated character we are studying, instead of four, as in the *Kasu* symbol, shows this suggestion unsafe; it seems only probable that it represents a vase or recipient of some kind. What the lower part of the symbol may be we are unable to say; as none of the hieratic signs that we know bear a sufficient similarity. Some of the meanings would suggest that this lower part ought to have originally represented the clouds raining, but there is no evidence from any other hieratic symbol to support this view. It is more safe to look at this lower part as a support or stand inseparable in its pictorial value from the vase placed upon it. The symbol was not looked upon by the scribes as a compound; this is shown by its name in their phraseology, which was a simple one, *nc*. In Assyrian its meanings are varied: *alidu*, to beget, *annu*, cloud, *dahadu*, to rejoice, *nadurn*, keeper, *lu*, if, or; it is used for *Kisilern*, the ninth month, in Akkadian *Gunganna*. Its phonetic values are *gan*, *kan*, and *ha*, *hê*, *hi*, *hu*; the latter is the precativ prefix⁴, and also the demonstrative pronoun, whose vowel is harmonized. In this pronominal function we may compare it with the Mal-Amir Amardian *Khi*, *Khu*⁵, the *hi* of the Medo-Scythic⁶ or Akhæmænian-Armanian, the Turkish *-ki*⁷, Mandshu *-ge* (ngge), the Chinese *ki* 其. The latter

of these affinities proves most important.

Not only is this Chinese symbol that of a demonstrative pronoun 'he, that,' but it is also the name of the seventh of the stellar mansions corresponding to γ and δ of the Sagittarius, one of the winter constellations.⁸ These similarities with the Babylonian symbol are certainly very great, and call for some remarks. It is highly interesting to point out that it is confined to two points, the pronominal and calendar values, and does not bear on any of the other meanings which occur in the Assyro-Babylonian texts. Its pronominal value is very seldom used in Akkadian, while its correspondent *khi* and *hi* in Mabl-Amir Amardian and Medo-Scythic is rather frequent. Judging from the relationship which existed between these languages and the Susian or Elamite tongue, we may suppose that it existed also in the latter. Now the Susianian or Elamite was written into the archaic characters of Babylonia⁹: slight simplifications only are visible in the inscriptions of the VIIIth and VIIth centuries B.C. which William Kenneth Loftus has unearthed during his excavations on the site of the citadel of Susa. These simplifications and other alterations of their cuneiform characters show these inscriptions to be written in an archaic style once distinctly the same as the early cuneiform style of Babylonia, and not a separate derivation from the hieratic and pre-cuneiform period. They have nothing in common with the revival of archaism, which appears in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and others. And the form of the characters, as well as these later changes peculiar to these inscriptions show them to have been written in a regular descendant style of the old writing communicated by Babylonia to Susiana in days of yore¹⁰. The importance of this inference will not escape the attention of our readers, as it bears distinctly on the origin of the civilisation of Susiana and its borrowing by the Bak tribes or primitive Chinese. The primitive *Kauwen* form of the character, 其 in modern Chinese, at the time of the borrowing represented a recipient on a stand¹¹, and was figured thus¹² . Its identity which cannot be denied with the old Babylonian of Hammurabi's time (left to top) simplified, is as close as can be expected, and forms the best conclusion and confirmation of the above remarks.

NOTES.

1) Cfr. W. A. L. II, 7, Rev. 13. The value *nagabu* does not appear in Brunnow's List 1031 sq. Cfr. on this sign: Pinches 56, Ménant 410, Chossat 103.

2) Cfr. p. 30, n. 79. Should we have only the archaic form of this character as it appears in the texts of Gudea, we might wonder if the upper part is not simply the *lingam* (ibid. No. 74), but the hieratic on the stèle des Vantours here reproduced shows it to be nothing of the kind.

3) Cf. p. 29, n. 75; Ménant 306; Pinches 76; Chossat 7; Brunnow 5118 sq.

4) Cfr. Pinches 56, Menant 410, Lenormant *pass.* in Chossat's *Repertoire Sémérien*, p. 61.

5) Cfr. A. H. Sayce, *The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir and the language of the second column of the Akhæmænian inscriptions*, pp. 712, 741 (Act. VI, Congr. Orient. 2883, Leide, vol. 11, pp. 637-756).

6) Cfr. J. Oppert, *Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, pp. 52, 63, 242.

7) Cfr. Fr. Hommel, *Die Sumero-Akkadische Sprache und ihre Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse*, p. 28; *The Sumerian language and its affinities*, p. 10 (J.R.A.S. 1886). The learned author quotes Turkish *mening-ki 'I of that,* i. e. that of mine. We may compare also Mandshu *miningge*, same composition and meaning.

8) The very character in astronomy is 箕, namely the same character, *ki* above, with the addition of the 118th determinative or key. Such additions were late in the history of the writing, and began to be multiplied from the time of Confucius. Cfr. my remarks on this point in *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 25, n. 3. For the present case cfr. Min Ts'ikih, *Luh shu t'ung*, I, 30 and 40 v.

9) The texts of Loftus have been published by François Lenormant in his *Choix de textes cunéiformes* (Paris, 1873, 4to.) Dr. J. Oppert, in his paper *Les inscriptions en langue Susienne. Essai d'interprétation* (I Congr. Intern. Orient. 1873, Paris, vol. II, pp. 179-216), has reproduced in facsimile an inscription of the king, Kudur Nakhunte. The remarks in the text are based upon a close examination of the following characters of Amiaud's *Tableau comparé* which occur in this inscription: 2, 23, 100, 102, 119, 120, 123, 178, 180, 182, 191, 199, 267, &c.





10) Unhappily we have not yet any material evidence by any inscription of that remote time. Excavations are urgently wanted there.

11) Hu shen, *Shuoh wen*.

12) Min Tsi k'ih, *Luh shu t'ung*, I, 30. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.
(To be continued).

BABYLONIAN CANALS.

[EXPLANATORY NOTE.]

The sign  which I traced to the pictorial form , is now rather to be traced to a more complicated form found in the earliest inscriptions. In the Stèle des Vantours it appears thus , and  in the hieratic text of the Canal inscription of Khammurabi. The various ideographic meanings of the character afford but little indication of the object represented in the pictorial form. The principal readings are *Khagallu*, 'to irrigate,' 'to fertilise,' *basu*, 'to be,' *alidu*, 'offspring,' *dukhudu*, 'abundance.' The reading *nagabu*, a canal, is given by Sayce and Ménant, but not by Brunnow. The reading, however, seems to be quite tenable, as we may note by the reading in the dates to the inscriptions of Samsi-iluna, where the river of Samsi-iluna is called *nagab wukhsi*, 'the river of blessing.' *Nagabu* is probably a Babylonian variant of the Assyrian *Nahbu*, 'a fountain,' which, as the text often shows, has the meaning of valley or hollow.

Accidentally portions of two lines in my rendering of the Cylinder of Khammurabi have been dropped. In col. i, l. 7 read: "the king whose deeds," and in col. ii, l. 12 read: "I caused to dwell." W. ST C. BOSCAWEN.

MAN HAN SI-FAN TSYEH-YAO,
A BUDDHIST REPERTORY
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.
(Continued from p. 244).

SECTION IV (continued).

43. *Vṛjapagatatikālakagātra* [read *tilakākāka*].¹⁸ whose body has all blemishes effaced, without blemish. T. *Sku sme ba dañ gnag pa med pa*, whose body has no black in its marks. Ch. M., whose body is without natural mark or stain.
44. *Kūlapātri śasū* (whose hands have skin) soft like the *Kūlapātri*¹⁹. T. *Phyag giñ bal ltar 'jam pa*, with hands soft like cotton.
45. *Snigrapāṇīlekha*²⁰ With the lines of the hands smooth and gleaming. T. *Phyag ris mdañs yon pa*, with the outside of the hand brilliant; (with lines, &c.), with the tissues of the hands brilliant.
46. *Gambhīrapāṇīlekha*. With the lines of the hands deep. T. *Phyag gi ri mo zab pa*, id. With the marks deeply sunken or hidden.
47. *Ayatapāṇīlekha*. With the lines of the hands long. T.
riñ ba.
48. *Nātyāyatamañna*. Whose face is not too (wide or) long. T. *Z'ul 'c'añ yañ mi riñ ba*. M. Mg. id. Ch. face round and full.
49. *Bimbaprativīm̐ba*²¹, (Whose lips) have the lustre of the bimba-fruit T. *M'cu bim-pa ltar dmar ba*, With lips red as the bimba. M. as the fruit of the bimba. H. *bimbapratibimboshṭha* (lips).
- 50-52. *Mrdujihva*, *Taiñjīhva*, *Raktajihva* : With tongue tender and soft; slender, red. T. *L'jags mñon pa*;—*srab pa*; *dmar pa*, tongue soft slender, red.
53. *Jramutaghōsha* [read *jīmāta*-] Whose voice resounds like a thunder cloud. T. *'brug gi sgra dañ ldan pa*. With a noise (like that) of thunder. Ch. giving forth a noise like, &c. H. *Meghagarjitaghōsha*.
54. *Cāruscara*. T. *gsuñ mñen pa*, With voice pleasant to hear. M. Voice soft and pleasing. H. *Maduracārunamuscara*.
- 55-58. *Vṛttadañshṭra*, — *Tikshyadañshṭra*, — *Ḍukhadāñshṭra*, — *Sama dāñshṭra*: With teeth rounded, or wellturned, ...sharp, — white, — even, without defect. T. *M'ce-ba zlum pa*, — *rno ba*, — *dkar ba*, — *mñam ba*, (with canines rounded, &c.)
59. *Anupārcadañshṭra*: With well ordered teeth. T. *M'ce ba byin gyis phra ba*, With teeth (like) wonderful jewels. M. Teeth progressively, regularly, gradually tapering. Ch. id.

- 60-61 *Thauganāsa*.---*Çucināsa* : with nose projecting, brilliant, or without defect. T. *Çuāns mtho-ba, gts'añ ba*, id.
62. *Viçuddhanētra* : with eyes of pure brilliancy, free from all imperfection. T. *Spyan rnam par dya pa*, eyes very (*vi*) pure.
63. *Viçalanētra* : wide-eyed. T. *Spyan yañs pa*, id.
64. *Citapakshamāpajmō*²³ ; with close, serried eyebrows. [T. *rjima stug po*, id. H. *Citrapakshma*, brilliant.
65. *Çitāçitakomala dalapakalanayana*²⁴ : whose eye-ball gleams like the petals of the white and black lotus ? T. *Spyan dkar nag 'byes çin padmāi 'dab ma doñs pa lta ba*, eyes pure as the *padma* (lotus) with opened black and white petals. Ch., in whose eye the black and white are distinct and shining like the blue lotus. M., pupil or eyeball like a bouquet of lotus (*s'u ilha*) wherein the black and white are distinct.
66. *Āyatabhū* [read *bhrū*] : with long brows. T. *smiñ ts'ugs riñ pa*, id. H. *āyatakrkata*.
67. *Çlakshṇabhṛū* : with fine, delicate brows. T. *Smiñ ma 'jam pa*. H. *Çuklabhrū*, with brilliant, white eyebrows.
68. *Samarōmabhṛū* : whose eyebrows are formed of quite equal hairs. T. *Smiñmahi sru mñam pa*, id. [read *spu*]. H. *Susniḡdhabhrūko*, very thick eyebrows.
69. *Piñāyatakarṇa* : with thick and wide ears. T. *Sñan-çal stug cìn riñ ba*, with ear-flesh thick and long.
70. *Samakarṇa* : with equal ears. T. *Sñan mñam pa*.
71. *Anupahatakavçendryia* : whose sense of hearing is not injured. T. *Sñan gyi dbañ po mñams pu*, do., always the same, undisturbed. M. Ch., whose root of the ear is complete, not damaged.
72. *Supariyatālalāta* : with brow rounded, well formed. T. *Dpral bai dbyes c'es pa*, broad-browed. M. broad and lofty. Ch. round, full. H. *aparisthānalalāta*.

NOTES.

18) *Tilakālaka* is a black mark like a seed of sesame (*tila*), which appears under the skin; hence the Tibetan version.

19) The *Kulapatri* is the cotton-tree.

20) *Sniḡpa*, (cf. *adāvra*) would suggest a new form, used in certain dialects. The correct word is *snigḡha* (cf. note .)

21) The *bimba* is the *mordica monodelpha*, a sort of gourd with red fruit. This comparison is often used in Sanskrit.

22) A voice reechoing like thunder, resounding afar, and spreading terror, is an attribute which has always been given to principal deities and the founders of religions. We find it even in Mexico (cf. *Muséon*, t. VI 1887.). This same voice is also *caru* (No. 54), sweet,

pleasant to hear, when the divinity wishes to attract men.

23) *Pajmô*, a peculiar and faulty form; perhaps ought to be effaced.
 24) *Pakala* is a word altered, unless we ought to read *dalapa* 'gold', and *kala*, thin, fine. Cf. *Kamaladalarimala*, 'spotless lotus petal', a name of Buddha. May it be *apakâla*, without soil, or stain of black? Interpreters seem to have understood *apakal*=separate, distinguish; or the Chinese; *kâla*, blackish. *Pînôyatkary* is found in the *Pâli* list, and there only. This was not a feature of beauty universally admitted. Perhaps it comes from rudely made statues, where the earrings are confounded with the lobes of the ear.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

THE WHEAT INDIGENOUS IN MESOPOTAMIA.—A LETTER.

[The following note was sent to me in answer, to my sending a copy of my article (*B. & O. R.* II, pp. 184—192) to the illustrious botanist of Geneva, and to my request for some remarks on the subject. T. de L.].

I have been so much the more pleased with your paper (on *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia to early China*) that you strengthen by an indirect argument my opinion on the origin of wheat. This origin is not, as yet, established by ascertained samples gathered wild in Mesopotamia, but a third traveller, since the old Berosus and the modern Olivier, has stated having seen the plant in the mountains N.E. of the Persian Gulf.

We read to that effect in the *Kerne des Deux Mondes* for 1888, vol. I, p. 378, the following statement of Mr. Houssay, who was then with Mrs. Dienlaffoy: "Above the grass, shoot the stalks of a plant, which, to my great wonder, I recognise to be wild wheat. The ear is perhaps thinner, the corn less full than in our cultivation, but it possesses exactly the same characteristics." The author was then travelling over the hilly country near Shushter.

As he lives at Lyons, I have written to him to know if he had been able to collect any sample of this wheat, and if he had sown any since his return in Europe. He answered that he had taken a handful of the plant and placed it under his saddle in view of taking care of it afterwards, but, unhappily, his servant threw it away! Olivier had not even tried to take a specimen of what he saw.

It is highly desirable that a botanist should visit this hilly country, where vegetation must have remained more pure than along the rivers of Mesopotamia.

ALPH. DE CANDOLLE.

DR. E. WEST ON THE PAHLAVI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.*

Every study relative to Pahlavi, and emanating from the pen of Dr. Ed. West is certainly worthy of the deepest attention, and cannot fail to add to the sum of information acquired up to the present time. It is, therefore, with reason that the class of philosophy in the Munich

* *The Extent, Language, and Age of Pahlavi Literature.* By Dr. E. WEST. Extr. from *Sitzungsberichten der philos.-histor. Klasse der K. Akademie, München*, 5 Mai, 1888: pp. 399-443.

Academy has made an exception in favour of this *Abhandlung*, and has voted for its publication, although it be written *in nicht deutscher Sprache*.

This paper of the eminent scholar contains three or more principal parts. We observe in it first, the list of 82 works written in Pahlavi, of which 24 consist of translations from the Avesta, 47 of original treatises on religious matters, and 11 others of the same nature on subjects political, economical, &c. To each of these names Dr. West adds the number of words which the work contains. There are some of them very long, such as the Dinkard (170,000 words), the Bundahish (30,000 words). Others, on the contrary, have only four, two, or three hundred words, and some even only 80.

After this, Dr. West occupies himself with the Pahlavi alphabet, with the nature of its letters, their different values and their groupings.

We have no remark to make on this well-known subject. We only observe that we cannot but commend the author for his hesitation to pronounce *olâ*, which is generally read *valmau* and other similar forms; as also to replace the suffix *man* by *â*. But here he has not paid enough attention to the arguments which are opposed to the reading *â*, and which Dr. Casartelli and I have set forth in this *Record*. I have nothing to alter in that.

Dr. West continues his study by speaking of the translation of the Avesta, and of the glosses which accompany it. He has rightly pointed out its gradual composition. He might have added to that the cases which I have quoted in my translation, where we see the author of one gloss speaking of some former glosses.

Following this are some notes upon different Pahlavi books: the *Nirangistân*, the *Aogenadaeca*, the *Vijarkard i-dînîk*, the *Dinkard*, the *Rivâyat of Hêmêt-i Ashavahishtân*, the *Jâmâsp nâmek*, all interesting and suggestive. The learned author closes by some notes equally important on the Pahlavi works whose authors are known, such as the Epistles of Manushehar and his *Dâhîstân-i dînîk*, the extracts from the numerous works of Zâd-sparam, brother of the preceding, the Dinkard, and many others besides. As to the Dinkard he advances some very numerous evidences. He leaves altogether on one side the facts quoted by Dr. Casartelli—facts which demonstrate that a part of the book at least had been composed under the Sassanides, at the time when the kings were yet faithful to the good law.

The middle part of the paper is taken up by a discussion on the nature and origin of the Pahlavi. The author is there occupied especially with the system I have developed in the *Record*. What he says on this subject will surprise more than one reader. On the one hand he recognises that my objections against the hypothesis of pure ideography are very strong, but he cannot admit that part of the argument which supposes the real use of certain Pahlavi words; after that, he adds that the opinion of Haug, making a Semitic tongue of the Pahlavi, is more probable. Notwithstanding this, the facts quoted and demonstrating that the Semitic words had been pronounced at least partially “will not bear strict examination, and merely indicate peculiarities, or blunder of some modern copyists.”

As Dr. West dispenses with all proof, I do not know how to reply to his criticism. I refer my readers to a perusal of my article

and to the judgment of Prof. J. Darmesteter, who has spoken of it quite differently.

Besides, Dr. West has only imperfectly understood me. I have never supposed a literary language employed in conversation, as he calls it, but only a system of writing; and that was not a hypothesis on my part, but the simple mention of a well-known fact, attested by all historians, as to the use of a peculiar *argot* for correspondence among the higher classes in Persia.

As to "the peculiarities and blunders of the modern copyists," Dr. West was kind enough to communicate to me his ideas on this subject; and I must say, in spite of all my desire to assent to the learned scholar, that I find nothing there which could make me change my conviction. All I have quoted is generally of a custom too common to be either "peculiarities or blunders." Besides, Pahlavists will be much surprised to see the learned scholar return to Haug's opinion, and to the Semitic Pahlavi.

Every objection drawn from the customs of another language is valueless here; for the Pahlavi has nothing in common with any other written language. It is no serious argument to say that Persian is not such as the Pahlavi might have been. Moreover, I think that Dr. West has taken my expressions in a sense which is foreign to them. I have not spoken of a literary language, but of a system serving for writing alone. That the use of some Semitic or Persian words would be more or less arbitrary is not a hypothesis, but a fact well known by all those who have studied the inscriptions on the medals, gems, &c. But this is enough on this point of detail into which the learned author has drawn me by a criticism which does not appear to me justifiable.

Let us close by wishing for the veteran Pahlavist a long career yet in the interests of science.

C. DE HARLEZ.

OUR friend and Member of Committee, Mr Theo. G. Pinches, has just had printed for private circulation: *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets*, in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart., translated and explained (4to, 36 pp.). The texts are ten in number. 1. Memorandum or receipt dated in the reign of Samisu-satana about 1969 B.C. 2. On weaving done for the temple of the sun-god at Sippara, 14th year of Nabopolassar. 3. On the live-stock in the hands of the shepherds of the same temple the preceding year. 4. On the taxes due from the Chaldeans in the district of Sippara, 14th year of Nabonidus. 5. On the payment of one gur of fruit, same year. 6. On the payment of tithes to the temple of Gula, 14th year of Darius. 7. On the supplies to the temple of the sun-god at Sippara, 22nd year of Darius. 8. List of payments. 9. Data for drawing a deed of sale. 10. Letter from Gimillu to Nergal-uballit, his brother. Every text is accompanied by a transliteration, translation, and notes. A short introduction, list of Babylonian numerals, index of matter, and an index of 231 words met with in the texts, complete this new work of our collaborateur, who has displayed in it his usual and precious qualities of precision and correctness.—T. de L.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

KHAN, KHAKAN, AND OTHER TARTAR TITLES.

SUMMARY.—INTRODUCTORY.

I. KHAN. § 1. Etymology and present value.—2. Its appearance in the cuneiform inscriptions.—3. *Kán* and *Kan* of the ancient Chinese.—4. The *Kan* of the Wusun and the *Kan-mi*.—5. *Khan* of the Tobat Tartars (A.D. 300), and of the Joujen (A.D. 335).—6. Afterwards frequent among Tartar hordes.

II. KHAKAN. § 7. Khaḡan of the Joujen (A.D. 402).—8. Etymology and meaning 'Great Khan'.—9. Khaḡan of the Tukuhhuan (A.D. 540) and Tuhkúeh Turks (A.D. 552).—10. Among the Khazars of S. E. Europe.—11. Among the Uigurs (A.D. 744).—12. Among the Djurtshen and Tsaghan.—13. Another title assumed by Djingghiz Khan.—14. Given to him nevertheless.—15. Resumed by the Turks conqueror of Constantinople. (A.D. 1450).

Khan, *Khaḡan* and *Khaan* have been the subject of lengthy remarks from several scholars, namely, Dr G. Rosen in the *Allgemeine Encyclopaedia von Ersch and Grüber*,¹ Etienne Quatremere in a long note to his *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse* translated from the Persian of Raschid el din,² and more recently Sir T. E. Colebrooke in his paper: *On Imperial and other titles*.³ But none of these learned investigators has carried his researches, either in time or as to the original sources, far enough to unravel the rather eventful story of these titles. The record of their respective origins only can explain the intricacy of their use in history, and show how it is that *Khan* is not the simplified form of *Khaḡan*, through *Khaan*, as it is commonly though erroneously believed.

I.

1. *Khan* sometimes *Han* is an original term in the Turko-Tartaric that the second was derived from the first by a symbolical emphasis of the

languages for chief, prince, or ruler, as in Mongol, Kalmuck, Mandshu, Djagataï, Turkish, &c. The word is common as well, to other families of the Turano-Scythian stock, as shown by⁴: the Ostiak *Khon*, the Vêpse or Tchudic *Kuhn*,⁵ the Dravidian *Kōn*, with the same meaning, the old Chinese *Kon* officer of government and *Kun* ruler, the Wusun *Kun*, of which we shall speak again, the Burmese *ghoung* &c. The political influence of the Mongols has carried the term *Khan* much beyond its linguistic domain, for instance in Persian and Hindi⁶ where it has become a common word. It has lost in course of time a great deal of its former importance. From its value as a title equivalent to Lord or Prince among the Mongol and Turk nomade hordes, "it has since become in Persia, and still more in Afghanistan, a sort of vague title like "Esq.," whilst in India it has become a common affix to, or in fact part of, the name of Hindustanis out of every rank, properly, however, of those claiming a Pathan descent."⁷

2. The history of this word and title goes back to a very remote period as we must look upon several similar terms in the cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia as its kindred. Such for instance the well known Sumero-Akkadian 𒌦 *en* 'lord master'⁸ which was frequently used as a prefix and otherwise,⁹ and according to all probabilities was ultimately connected with the well known word *AN* for 'god' in the same language. Such also the ancient Susian title *HAN-ik* translated by Prof. J. Oppert as 'Emperor' in the inscriptions of Kudur Nakhunte, king of Susiana towards the end of the VIIIth century B.C.¹⁰

Besides it seems that the inscriptions of Mal-amir, which Prof. A. H. Sayce has shown to be written in the same language as, and earlier in time than, the Akhemenians Medo-Scythic or Amardian, show a cognate form *Āin* 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎣𐎤 which is distinctly 'a king', and this repeatedly.¹¹

As the latter language, like the Susian, belongs undoubtedly to the Turano-Scythian stock¹², as the Sumero-Akkadian, although these are less pure and in a hybridised condition¹³, we are justified in considering these terms as cognate to that of Khan, and its ascendants in a collateral line.

3. The Chinese words 宮 and 君 (anciently *kân*¹⁴ and *kun*)¹⁵ are those which, thanks to the old age of ancient Chinese written documents, can boast of the oldest records in Eastern Asia. They appear, both in their respective meaning of 'officer' and 'ruler' in the most ancient parts of the Book of history (*Shu king* II, ii, 19, II, ii, 4, 17). It seems probable

original vowel corresponding to the increase in the meaning required. But this must have taken place long before, as the two words are expressed since the beginning of the Chinese written history, by two ideograms quite distinct in formation.

4. In sequence of time the next oldest instance of the word occurs in the second century before the Christian era, when it appears as the title of the ruler of the Wusun¹⁶, a red-haired, blue-eyed race¹⁷ allied to the Hiungnu Turks, in the NW. of China¹⁸, whence they moved westwards, at least the greater part of them, in 143 B.C.¹⁹ They were ruled by a great *Kun-mi*²⁰, whose wife or queen was called the great *Kun-ti*. The gender terminations show the radical word to have been *kun-*; while the specification of great applied to their ruler, confirmed by the further statement of the Chinese account that the Wusuns had also small *kun-mi*, show that *kun-* had the meaning only of prince, lord, but not that of king. Another portion of the same people about the same time moved southwards and settled in Yunnan W.²¹ where they became known to the Chinese as forming the kingdom of the *Kun-mi* (Kun-mi Kwoh).²² It is one of the many historical cases of migration of northern tribes towards the sunny south of Indo-China²³ through the region between China and Tibet.²⁴

5. *Khan* does not appear *ipsis litteris*, in historical evidence, as far as I have been able to ascertain, before the IIIrd century of our era. But we may be sure that it was in use a long time previously, for no statement is given about its first adoption, and it is quoted as a matter of course. It occurs as the title of a ruler of the Tobat Tartars (in Chinese sources) who was the regular successor of a long list of sovereigns of this people, who claimed a great antiquity. Lin Khan (Chinese Lin Han²⁶), who was ruling at the very beginning of the IIIrd century, was the father of Kiesun, who is reputed to have been the sixty-seventh ruler. Tchomo Khan (Chinese *Tchomo han*), son of the latter, was put to death in an insurrection²⁷. In the year 312 a Khan Tobat named Ili gave assistance to the Chinese against the Hiung-nu Turks²⁸. Later on we find it as a title of certain leading officers among the *Soujén*²⁹, the eastern ancestors of the Avars, as, for instance, in the name of Hoto Khan, beheaded in 385 A.D. by order of the Emperor of the Wei Tobat Tartars. It continued to be used by them long after their migration to the west³⁰.

6. And it became henceforth of frequent use among the Tartar hordes, but it had always a subordinate meaning to that of the supreme title which we shall now examine.

II. خاقان.

7. Khaḡan, or Khagan, the supreme title of authority among the Tartars, makes its first appearance in history in 402 A.D. It was assumed by Tuluḡ, the Khan of the Jōnjen, after he had established his supremacy all over Tartary. He disdained the old title of Shen-yu³¹, which hitherto had been always assumed by the supreme ruler of these regions, and he struck out for himself and his successors in power the new title of *Khaḡan*. The Chinese account in the annals of the Wei dynasty is most precise under this respect, and we may say that it is the looseness of the Chinese compilers of late date made use of by European scholars, which has led to the misconception and confusion together of the two terms Khaḡan and Khan³². The passage is worth quoting in full. The text speaks of Tuluḡ: "*Tze hao K'iu tōufat k'okan. K'iu tōufat yu Wei yen kiaḡu K'aitchang yé. K'okan yu Wei yen Huangti yé.* He called himself Ku Tubat Khakan. Ku Tubat is the same as the Wei term for 'a driver beginning his task.' Khakan is the same as the Wei term for Emperor."³³ *Tubat*³⁴, though written differently because of respect for the family name of the rulers of the Wei dynasty of Southern China, was most probably the same name assumed by Tuluḡ.³⁵ It was most renowned and illustrious, and continued to be so for some centuries. And as Tuluḡ and his followers belonged to the same race, their claims to the family name was not unjustified.

8. *Khaḡan* is stated to be the same as Huang-ti, i.e. Supreme ruler. The etymology is pretty clear—*Kan* is the *khan* which we already know. *Kha* is connected with such words as the Wogul *aku*, Ostiak *oker*, Mandshu *yga*, 'first,' Turki 'agha, 'lord,' Mongol *ika*, 'great,' the Dravidian *ko*³⁶, 'a king'³⁷. This word is very old, and belongs to the whole of the Turano-Scythian stock of languages as shown by the Akkadian *aga*, 'chief, lord'; *akka*, 'powerful'³⁸, the Chinese *ko*, 'high,' &c. The meaning³⁹ of *khaḡan* is, therefore, indicated as being that of 'great khan.'

9. Let us sketch rapidly the principal historical instances of its adoption.

The rulers of the Jōnjen kept their prominent position of Khaḡan over the other khans of the Tartars until the sixth century. In A.D. 540 their weakened power permitted Hiliu Khan, of the *Tukuhhuan*, to assume the supreme title⁴⁰, which, however, he could not keep long; for his successors; as in 552 A.D., the empire of the *Jōnjen*, was finally destroyed by Tūmun Khan, of the *Tuhkūeh* Turks,⁴¹ who assumed the supreme

dignity of Khaḡan, not only for himself, but also for his successors⁴². But Tūmūn soon discarded this very title for him personally⁴³, because apparently of Hiliū khāḡan still living and not yielding, and he took for himself another title as we shall see when studying another term of the same group, Ilkhan.⁴⁴

10. Not long after that, we see the title of Khaḡan in use among the Khazars⁴⁵, a Turkish race in South Eastern Russia and beyond, who occupied there a prominent position for centuries, as their power was not destroyed by the Russians before 966 A.D. But the use of the supreme title among them does not seem to have been looked upon as a symbol of hegemony over the other Khans. They had a Khaḡan, a *Khaḡan bouh*, and a *Kender Khaḡan*, the wife of their Khaḡan was called a *Khatun*, a term which we have already met. It is he who is spoken of as *χαγαβος* in the times of Justinian and Maurice (VIth century). Constantine Porphyrogenitus (903-959 A.D.) mentions *ὁ χαγαβος ἀρχων Ναζαρίας*⁴⁶ Albiruni (1000 A.D.) in a list of the words for King, Emperor, Prince, &c. gives that of Khākhān as applying to the rulers of the Turks, Khazars and Tagharghuz.⁴⁷ Should the latter be identical with the Tukuhans of the Chinese records, we would have in the statement of the Khorasmian author an enumeration of the three nations whom we have recorded as having adopted the title Khaḡan for their leaders.

11. The empire of the Turks in Mongolia was destroyed in 744 A.D. by the Uigurs. Their ruler assumed the title of Khaḡan, which was recognized to him by the Chinese Emperor of the T'ang dynasty, then all powerful⁴⁸. In 840 A.D. their dominion in Northern Mongolia was destroyed by the Kirghizes, and they were compelled to flee from their capital city (Karakorum). But in 847 they reestablished their seat at Turfan, and resumed the title of Khaḡan, which they preserved until the XIIth century⁴⁹; the last of them is mentioned in the history of the Djurtchen (Kin dynasty) as having sent an embassy in 1127 A.D.⁵⁰.

12. The supreme authority passed then into the hands of the Karakhitai, whose ruler, however, did not assume the old title of Khaḡan, and started that of *Gurkhan*, as we shall see further on.

The title of *Khaḡan* seems to have been then used rather promiscuously, as we hear in the history of the Mongols by Ssenang Setzen, of a Chagan of the Djurtchid⁵¹ (or Djurtchen) and of a Chagan of the Tsaghan tribes (of the Solsons) subdued by Temudjin the future Djingghis Khan in 1202 A.D.⁵². Should the matter be more important, it might be necessary to

have this statement better authenticated, as the mere words of the Mongol historian are, perhaps, only a *façon de parler*.

13. Temudjin, whatever may have been said otherwise, never assumed himself the title of Khaḡan; a new title was struck out for him. In 1206 A.D. he had destroyed all his rivals, and in the spring of that year "he summoned a Kuriltai near the sources of the Onon: on this spot was planted a standard composed of nine white tuks⁵³ (i.e. yak-tails, one for each of the nine Orioks) placed one over the other, around this were collected the chiefs of the different tribes. A Shaman named Gueukdjin, who was surnamed *But Tengri*,⁵⁴ now came forward and declared solemnly that having conquered so many Gur Khans, i.e. chief Khans, he could not adopt that humbled title, and that Heaven decreed to him the title of *Djingghiz*:⁵⁵ *Khan* or the "Very Mighty Khan." He was therefore saluted under that name by the different chiefs."⁵⁶

14. Notwithstanding his new and special title Djingghiz Khan was spoken of as the Khaḡan of the Tartars; and so deeply engrained was the use of this title with reference to the supreme ruler, that the Mongol historian and Prince Ssenang Setzen goes so far as to say that the full title of Djingghiz Khan⁵⁷ was *Satu Bogda Djingghiz Khagan*. And the Armenian historian Guiragos, relating the events of the time in Georgia, does mention *Khagan* *ipsis litteris* as the title of the Mongol sovereigns⁵⁸. Besides, some coins are witnesses of the fact, as some of them issued in the time of Djingghiz Khan bear simply the legend "the Just, the Great Khaḡan," and others "the just, the great Djingghiz Khan"⁵⁹.

15. The great importance of this title gradually dwindled down, and it came again into use after the conquest of Constantinople (A.D. 1443). The title assumed by Murad III. ran: "Sultan of the two continents and Khaḡan of both seas." &c.⁶⁰

NOTES.

1) Vol. 35 s. v. Khan.

2) Vol. I. (folio, Paris, 1836). pp. 10--15. n.

3) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1877, Vol. IX, pp. 314--420; *Klein, or Kharan*, pp. 402--411--. Cfr. Also the notices of P. Visdeloup in the *Supplément à la Bibliothèque orientale de M. Herbelot*, pp. 132-133, and of Col. H. Yule, *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, 2nd edit. introd. pp. 9-10. n.

4) All the instances are taken from the following authorities:—J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire Mongol-russe-français* (Kasan, 1844-9. 3 vols. 4to) vol. II, p. 712.—Ph. J. von Strahlenberg, *An historico-geographical description of the North and Eastern parts of Europe and Asia* (London, 1738, 4to), in polyglot table.—Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk ori-*

ental, s.v. (Paris, 1810).—R. Caldwell, *Dravidian Grammar*, 2nd edit. p. 504.—D. A. Chase, *Anglo-Burmese handbook* (Moulmain, 1852) III, 43.—Ch. E. de Ujfalvy, *Essai de grammaire Vèpse ou Tchoude* (Paris, 1875).

5) To which compare the Kalmuck *Kanjahr*, a ruler, in Stahlberg, the Burmese *ghoung*, &c. *O. c.*

6) H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Indian terms*, p. 276 (London, 1855, 4to).—The Siamese *khun*, chief, in J. Leyden's *Comparative vocabulary of the Burma, Malagu, and Thai* (Serampore, 1810) p. 119, is a loan word from the same source, and may have been carried by the *Kan-mi Kwok* people, on which cfr. below.—*Kun* in *Kun-maing*, a Shan title meaning (cfr. Ney Elias, *Introductory sketch of the history of the Shans*, p. 56) calls for the same remark.

7) Col. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *A Glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases* (London, 1886), p. 366.

8) J. Menant's *Syllabaire* 225 (*Grammaire Assyrienne*, 1880).—T. G. Pinches' *Sign list* 38. Texts in the Babylonian wedge-writing, 1882).—R. Brunnow's *Classified list* 2805-2945 (Leiden, 1887).—cfr. *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* IV, 13, 10a.

9) This term has probably a linguistic and subjective affinity with \rightarrow † *an* 'god' in the same language; the difference which is only vocalic being symbolical and correlative to the intensity of the meaning. This interesting phenomenon is rather frequent in the Turano-Scythian stock of languages as a whole.

10) Cfr. J. Oppert, *Les inscriptions en langue Susienne, Essai d'interprétation*, pp. 184, 194 (I Congrès des orientalistes, Paris, 1873, vol. II).

11) *Inscription across a Bas-relief at Kul Faraun*, Mal-Amir (Layard's *Inscr.* pl. 36-37) 5, in H. A. Sayce, *The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir and the language of the Second column of the Akhæmenian inscriptions*, pp. 634, 737, also 716, in *Actes du VI^e Congrès international des Orientalistes*, 1883, vol. II, pp. 636-756 (Leide, 1885).—Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen has favoured me with the following valuable note on the matter: "The value of *an* never, as far as I know, meant 'god' (*dammir* and *dingir* being the words) but 'heaven,' and gave rise to the borrowed *an nu* 'heaven,' the primary meaning of the root being 'high.' The Elamite word for 'god' was *annap*, cognate with the Sumerian *nup*, 'a light or star' (perhaps *an* + *nup*, 'heaven light'). The better reading for Oppert's *Hau-ik* is *Khan-gal*, pronounced *Khag-gal*, as this formative has the value of *gal* in all adjectives, as in *Khi-gal*, *Ner-gal*, 'ruler,' not *ner-ik*, *Si-gal*, 'protector,' not *Si-ik*, &c. There is very little doubt that the guttural first letter in *ea*, *evem*, *e*, 'lord, fiend, house,' corresponded to the guttural \rightarrow , and was then softened from the *ghau* Arab.; being like the Persian prefix *kh* χ . Thus then: *EN*=*gen*=*Khen*, 'lord': *AIX*=*gain*=*Khai'n*, 'king': *AN*=*gau*=*Khan*, *ghangal* 'chief, ruler.' This is to be seen in Sumerian *evem* 'foe', Assyrian *erim*=Heb. ערם and Arab. *gharov* 'subtle foe'. W. St. C. B."

12) On this kinship, cfr. François Lenormant, *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée et les Idiomes Touraniens* (Paris, 1875) and *Chaldean Magic* (London, 1878, pp. 263-317); Fritz Hommel, *Die Sumero-Akkadische sprache und ihre Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse* (*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, 1884, vol. I).

13) On this hybridity cfr. my article *Akkadian and Sumerian in conc-*

parative philology (*The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1886, vol. I, pp. 1-7.)

14) Mandarin *Kwan*, Sino-Annamite *quan*, Cantonese *kun*, Amoy *kwan*, Shanghai *kwoⁿ*, Foochow *k'wang*, Pekinese *Kuan*.

15) Mandarin *K'uan*, Sino-Annamite *quân*, Cantonese *Kwan*, Amoy *K'uan*, Shanghai *K'ün*, Foochow *K'ung*, Pekinese *tchün*.

16) Cfr. to this name the Mandshu *hosuñ* meaning strength, *hosungga* 'strong.'

17) And also, "having the appearance of female monkeys" *tch'wang mihün*, says the Chinese writer.

18) They were settled in the district now Tun-hwang in Kansuh W., near Sha-Schou.

19) In order to attack with the Hiungnu, the *Gwetit* vulgo *Yuehti*.

20) Or *Kun-mo*, 昆彌 or 昆莫; both forms being used. Cfr. my article *The Yuehti and the early Buddhist missionaries in China*. (*The Academy* Dec. 31, 1887).

²¹21) *Shé-ki*; *Tsien Han shu*; *Hou Han shu*; *Peh shé*; *T'ung tien*; and the *Tai ping yü lan*, compiled in 983 A.D., K. 795, ff. 1-2.—Parts of these details through later Chinese compilations have been given by De Guignes in his *Histoire des Huns*, vol. I (1) pp. 300-301, and I (2) p. 55.

22) They were said to have much of the same manners as the Turks (*Tuh-küeh*) and to have been originally a brother state to the Hiungnu's. They are mentioned under the reign of Han Wuti (140-87 B.C.) and in the year 623 A.D. In 645 they numbered 72 tribes and 9300 families. Cfr. *Tang shu*, *Tai ping yü lan*, K791, f. 12. They have been sometimes mistaken for the *Kun-ming*.

23) On some other instances of similar migrations cfr. my tractate on *The Cradle of the Shanrace* (1884) pp. 18, 19-22; and my book *The languages of China before the Chinese* (1887) pp. 84-96.

24) On the spelling of that name without *h*, cfr. my notice *Tibet not Thibet* in *Le Muséon*, Août, 1887, pp. 500-501, and my article *Tibet* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1883, vol. XXIII, p. 338.

25) 托跋; the first word *to* is explained by 'land' and the second *bat* (modern *poh*) by 'prince,' therefore 'Prince of the land' in the *Sung shu*, or 'Annals of the Sung dynasty' (620-678 A.D.) *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 801, t. I v.

26) The Chinese render the word by 汗 now read *han*, but previously *k'an*. It is the same character as in the later *k'a k'an* for khakan.

27) Cfr. De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. I, pp. 180-182; vol. I (2) p. 143.

28) Dr. E. Bretschneider quotes erroneously this fact as the first appearance of the title *Khán*, in his important *Notice of the Mediæval Geography and history of central and western Asia* (1876) p. 117.

29) This name has been rendered in Chinese by the ideo-phonetic 蠕蠕 which may be read *Jwenjwen* or *Ju-ju* or more probably *Ju-jwen*; this ideographic spelling, which may mean 'crawling crawlers' had been selected about 425 A.D. as a contemptuous transcription of their name by She-Tsu-Tai-wu, Emperor of the Wei Tobat Tartars, then ruling over Northern China. Their original name had been given to them about 320 A.D. by their first chief, Tcheluñuei, who had gathered all the runaways and malcontents of these Wei Tobat Tartars. On this people cfr. the Chinese annals of 420-589, called *Nau she*, sect. *y Meh tchuen*, and those

of the Wei dynasty 386-556, *Wei shu Suiwen tchuen*, Bk. 103, sect. 91. Cfr. also the *Sui shu*.

30) Cfr. De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, t. 1 (2) p. 195.

31) *Shen-yu* or *Tan-yu* 單于 had been the title of the ruler of the *Hinggnu*. It is known in history from the Chinese accounts as early as the third century before our era. See the *She-ki* of Szema Tsien, Bk. 110, f. 9v., where it is explained by a gloss as meaning *Kwang ta tchi ma*, 'majestic grandeur.' In the Annals of the Former Han dynasty, *Tsien Han shu*, Bk. 94, the title is said to be in full *Tang-li kwatu Shen-yu*, Heaven in the Hinggnu language being *Tangli*, i. e. *Tengri*, the well-known Altaic word, and *Kwatu*, 'son,' cfr. the Tungasian *utu*, Lamutic *utu*, same meaning. The title in full implies, 'Majestic grandeur of the son of Heaven.' This was evidently set up as a competition to the Chinese Emperor who claimed the title of Son of Heaven or *Tien tze* since the beginning of the Shang dynasty (circa 1550 B.C.).

32) Deguignes *Histoire des Huns*, I (2) 337, referring to Ma Twanlin's *Wen hien t'ang Kao* and to Tchuh's *Tung kien kang mah* compiled in the XIIIth and XIIth centuries respectively, states that Tulum "prit le titre de khacan ou de khan." The contemporary Annals of the Wei dynasty do not leave doubt on the matter, and show that he assumed the two titles successively.

33) *Wei shu*, k. 103, *schuen* 91, f. 2 v. Here is the original text: 自號丘豆伐可汗丘豆伐猶魏言駕馭開張也可汗猶魏皇帝也. A few remarks are required to justify my rendering. The sounds of the proper names are given as near as possible as they were pronounced at the time. On *Tubat*, cfr. the remarks in the text. *Kiagu k'aitchang* is difficult to translate; *kia-gu* means 'guide,' and more properly 'driver', and it is often applied to the Chinese Emperor himself whose leadership of the state is compared to that of the driver of a chariot; *k'ai tchang* is properly 'to open a shop' (W. Williams, *Syllab. dictionary* p. 308). The two terms imply my rendering. *K'o* was employed for the rendering of a foreign *ka* as for instance in *Açoka*. (cfr. Stan. Julien, *Méthode pour déchiffrer les noms sanscrits dans les livres chinois*, No. 712).

34) The Wei used to write it 拓跋. For some remarks on this name and other variants of its spelling and connections to that of Tibet, cfr. my *Beginnings of writing around Tibet*, §§ 84-85, and my article *Tibet*, already quoted.

35) The *Tobat* gave the dynasty of the Southern Liang in Kansuh N.W. from 397 to 415; the first dynasty of E. Tibet in 434; the great Wei dynasty over N. China, from 386 to 535; and were part of the Si-Hia or Tangut, from 983 to 1227; and of other petty Tartar dynasties. Before the time of Kit-sun (*D.* 260 A.D.) they claim to have already given 67 princes to Tartary, and continued to do so until 376 A.D. Cfr. De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, I, 280-282, and my *Beginnings of writing*, I, c.

36) As in the old Tamil of the Syrian inscriptions: *Kā-il*, 'king's house.' Cfr. R. Caldwell, *Dravidia Grammar*, p. 504.

37) Sir T. E. Colebrooke in his paper *On Imperial and other titles*, I, c. p. 404, has compared it to *ko* in the Scythic version of the Behistun inscription of Darius, as deciphered by Ed. Norris, who had followed in that case a suggestion of Westergaard concerning the character 𐎧𐎠𐎺𐎠 (*Memoir on the Scythic version of the Behistun inscription*, J. R. A. S. 1855, vol. XV, pp. 19, 181. But the decipherment *ko irsarra*, *ko kofainna* for 'great king, King of kings' was not exact, and the reading is now given

as *Unan irsarra*, *Unan ip-inna* in Prof. J. Oppert, *Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, p. 112.

38) Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes* I, 28, III, 2, 32; Ed. Chossat, *Répertoire Sumérien*, p. 7.

39) A Mongol etymology has been sought for unsuccessfully, as he recognises it himself by Prof. H. Vambery, *Die primitive cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, pp. 135-136.

40) On 阿干 cfr. *Hou Wei shu*, Bk. 101, f. 6.—*Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 794, f. 8 r.

41) De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, I, pp. 178-188.

42) *Tung Kien Kang Muh*: De Mailla. IV, p. 523.

43) De Mailla, *ibid.* p. 225.

44) Cfr. below § 2.

45) The 可薩 *K'osat* or 可薩 *K'osat* who belong to the stock of the Tuhkūch, in the Annals of the Tang dynasty. Cfr. E. Breitschneider, *Not ces of the mediæval geography*, p. 191.—Theophanes who is the first to name them in the year 626 speaks of them as the eastern Turks who are called Khazars. Zeuss 742 in H. H. Howorth, *The Khazars, were they Ugrians or Turks?* p. 17 (Trans. III. Congr. Orient Leide, 1878). The learned author of the *History of the Mongols*, has returned to the opinion which he held previously about the Khazars and has adduced in favour of this view new proofs to those put forth by several scholars of old. In the same paper he has sketched the variations of opinion among scholars on the nationality of the Khazars. De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, II, 507-509, has them as Turks.

46) *De Administr. Imp.* c. 38. &c.

47) *The Chronology of Ancient nations*, transl. Sachau, p. 109.—Similar lists are given by several authors; for instance by Ibn-Khurdādhbih (*Journal Asiatique* 1865, p. 249-257).

48) *Tang shu*, Bk. 257a.—E. Breitschneider, *Notices of the Mediæval Geography*, p. 117, or *Mediæval Researches*, vol. I, p. 239.

49) Meanwhile an isolat case of the assumption of the title of Khakan occurred in N. India. It appears among those of Musand, son of Mahmud, set forth on the minaret near Ghazni (a small territory in Cabul). Cfr. *Journal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, vol. XXII, pp. 77-78.

50) Dr. E. Breitschneider has put together with great skill all that is known on the Uigur history, in his *Mediæval Researches*, vol. I, pp. 236-263.

51) On this Mongol form of the name of the Djurtchen, cfr. my paper *The Djurtchen of Mandshuria, their name, language, and literature*.

52) *Geschichte der Ost Mongolen* (transl. Schmidt) p. 75; H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, 57.

53) Cfr. *tug*=standard, flag.

54) i. e. 'Representing Heaven', not 'Image of God'.

55) Explained as *Djing*=great, and *ghiz* the superlative.

56) H. H. Howorth, O. C. I, 64.

57) H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, 65.

58) Cf. his record in the translation of Ed. Dulaurier, *Les Mongols d'après les historiens Arméniens*, p. 123 (*Journal Asiatique*, 1855, t. XI, pp. 192-255).

59) Ed. Thomas *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Dellû*, pp. 91-92.

60) T. E. Colebrooke, *On Imperial and other titles*, l. c. p. 411.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

NOTES ON THE WRITINGS OF THE LYCIAN MONUMENTS.

A.—THE LYCIAN WRITING (*cont.*).

(Continued from p. 218.)

THE LETTER Υ .

Quite wrongly this letter which, under the form Ψ , enters into the name of the prince $\text{T}\mathcal{N}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{W}\mathcal{V}\text{OP}\mathcal{I}$, has sometimes been taken for a simple graphic variant of ψ . Moritz Schmidt has received this coin legend in the Ψ th plate of *The Lycian Inscriptions*, and in his *Neue lykische Studien*, p. 71; but the temptation was very strong to seek there for the Greek name Αθηναϊόρας ²⁸; the learned professor could not resist it, and he has undertaken to complete in Ψ the 5th character of the name. Without being so positive in his proposition, the author of *Monnaies Lyciennes* believes he has recognized in the mention $\Psi\text{P}\Psi\text{E}$ of E., 62, of the Obelisk, a speciale version of the proper name $\Psi\text{IP}\mathcal{W}\text{E}$ ²⁹. I confess, nevertheless, that in his eyes, Υ is a letter independent of ψ , and to which he assigns the value *v*.

I share his opinion that Υ , Υ , Ψ is nothing but a Greek upsilon; but I ask him to concede to me that this upsilon, declared by Dr. Isaac Taylor wanting in the Lycian epigraphy³⁰, is a consonant. The reduplication of Υ after P in the word $\text{OMP}\Upsilon\Upsilon\text{PIE}$ demonstrates this fact, for the consonants only comply with the reduplication which is proper to this writing³¹. If some repeated vowels are shown to me, this is only accidentally, and outside every rule; still the case is very rare³².

They shall be successful in clearing up the transcription of Υ by taking as the point of departure the value *v*, which is that of the character \mathcal{H} . Let us say a few words on the subject of this last letter. Lymra 19 shows it redoubled in the name $\mathcal{H}\mathcal{H}\mathcal{K}\mathcal{E}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{A}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I}$; it is therefore a consonant *v*, as I have announced it at p. 214, in a phrase unfortunately mutilated, and which I take the liberty, for that reason, to reproduce: "Yet O is already *u*, and *v* does not serve to represent F , but $\mathcal{H}\mathcal{K}$, directly drawn, as its form attests, from the Cypriote syllabary."

If the Greek gives us, on the same monument, the name of $\mathcal{H}\mathcal{H}\mathcal{K}\mathcal{E}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{A}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I}$ under the form ΠΥΒΙΑΛΛΗ , it is not necessary to conclude that $\mathcal{H}\mathcal{H}\mathcal{K}$ answers to $u\beta$ or the Latin *uu* of the name *Pacuvius*. The two $\mathcal{H}\mathcal{H}$ are resolved into only one, in the

some way as the two **Ϟ**, the two **Ϛ** of the names *Αρπαγος*, *Σπαρτι-
άται*, *Σαρπηδων*, *Χερσονησος*, *Parça*³⁴ under their Lycian dress.
The *u* of the syllable **Πυβ** is not admitted except to join the *π* to the
β (= *v*); you should not expect, I think, that the Greeks wrote
Πβιαλληι?

Here now is a word **ϚΡΕϚϞΡΛΕ** which we know to be read *εριρλι*,
and which I remark at l. 32, West face of the Xanthian Obelisk. The
North face, l. 51, gives way from its side, doubtless the same word, but
with this interesting circumstance, that **ϚϞ** had given place to **Ϛ**
(**ϚΡΕϚΡΛΕ**).

It will be seen, then, that it is quite wrongly that Schmidt has written
this last example under the form **ϚΡΕΝϞΡΛΕ**³⁵ in his *Neue lyk. Studien*.
Many errors of this sort seriously injure his lists of words, by leading the
reader astray. Indeed, there exists a variant of **Ν** which somewhat recalls
our letter **Ϛ**, it is **Ϛ**; but that variant is only found in some tumular
inscriptions³⁶, and besides, by a little attention we shall avoid this mistake.

The **Ϛ** discloses sufficiently its nature as a consonant by its ordinary
position between two vowels. The Obelisk would appear to have made
mention of the *navarchs* with the word (in the gen. pl.) **ΝΡϚΟΡΡ + Ε**³⁷.
Savelsberg compares this term, which he translates by "schiffer," with the
Armenian *navarak*, and he remarks that *trivres* are not remotely men-
tioned. The comparison of this example with the Greek *ναυαρχῶν* is very
tempting indeed: here *u* is the consonant *v*.

I therefore write **Ϛ** *v* and **Ϛ** *v'*, without any hope of making any-
thing but some conjectures on the difference of the pronunciation of those
two consonants.

As a general rule, the Obelisk does not admit of purely graphic variants;
there is a consequence to be drawn from this fact, that is that **Ϛ** is in no
way a variant of **Ϛ**, not even a letter which, of a different origin, might
have the same phonetic value. For **Ϛ** is interchangeable with **Ϛ** as well
as with **Ϛ**.

The Greek epigram on the Obelisk caused much trouble to the
interpreters, because of certain *lacunæ* which affect an important pa-
rty sometimes of the proper names of persons, forgotten by history. At
the beginning of the 5th verse, there is the name of **[ΚΡΩ]ΙΣ** (for
ΚΑΡΩΙΣ which expressed, for the western strangers, the name of the Lycian
ϚϞΡϚΡΕ (*χέραι*) son of **ϞΡΡΡΡϞϚΟΡ** (*Αρπαχῆς*). And in the twelfth
and last verse it is said of this *Karais* that "he crowned with very beau-
tiful crowns the race of **ΚΑΙΙΚΑ[Σ]**." M. Six was at first persuaded

that there was a reference in this word **KAIKA** to a proper name, and that seeing the space between the two **Is**, there was room to complete the first by **P**⁴⁰. Who was this **Karikas**? The inscription of the 8th tomb of Xanthus gives the name of $\Psi \hat{P} E \Psi \hat{I}$; and as the author of the monument **M** $\hat{I} \hat{P} \hat{I} + E$ (Merehi) is quoted perhaps once on the Obelisk⁴¹, the ingenious numismatist supposed that this Merehi, descendant of $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{I}$ or **Karikas**, is reckoned in the number of *συγγενεῖς* of the son of Harpagos.⁴² Unfortunately, the meaning attributed to $\Psi \Xi T P F A T P$ (*χῆταφάτα*) by the Dutch scholar has nothing real in it⁴³, and other examples where the word is found make it probable that it signifies "hyparch, or an officer under the orders of such." This is how I should translate this short epitaph:

eboñne : prñnafô : moeti prñnafatoe : Merehi . Kudalah :
 this monument-here has built, Merehi of Kôdalos

$\chi \eta \tau \lambda \alpha \lambda \eta$ tîdeimi triya trbbahi : pñmutahi : uhabi
 (the same as) Condalos son, --- --- --- ---

hrppi prñcezi : enoe : $\chi \eta \tau \alpha \lambda \alpha \phi \alpha \tau \alpha$ $\chi \epsilon \rho \iota \chi \epsilon \eta \epsilon$.
 for the *οἰκεῖοι*; he was hyparchi of (the lady) Cerice.

We have a coin with the name of the princess **VADEVA** with the *same* vowel (**A**= \hat{I}) in the second and the sixth place. The genitive will make it quite naturally $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{I} + \hat{I}$, with the interchange between Ψ and Ψ . But do we see the princess of Xanthus in this twelfth verse of the epigram, which bears a *masculine name* in the genitive (**Karika** *γενος*=the race of the prince **Karikas**)?

Nor does the Obelisk quote many times a woman of the name of $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{I}$ with \hat{I} at the beginning and the end, but a man $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{P}$ ⁴⁴ with a vowel, \hat{I} , in the first syllable, **P** in the last. The genitive does not modify these vowels: it is always $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{P} +$ or $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{P} + \hat{I}$. This name figures on a coin, and exactly with \hat{I} at the beginning, **P** at the end, $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{P}$. There is therefore ground to attribute it to a sovereign prince; and further, the grand stèle recalls frequently the $\Psi \hat{I} P \Psi \hat{P} \Psi \hat{E}$, a word copied from the pattern of **FEITTI** $\Psi \hat{I} P \Psi \hat{I} E$, and indicating a member of the family of $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{P}$. Is this not sufficient to make us recognize the expression rendered by **Karika** *γενος* in the epigram? If we are deceived, if a man of an ancient period bore the name of one of his descendants and counts as an eponymous hero, it must be confessed then that the Greek ear heard **Karikas** when people spoke of Ceriv'a, and that the Lycians themselves were given to confounding the two styles of writing the name of the lady, $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{I}$ or **VADEVA** (= $\Psi \hat{I} P E \Psi \hat{I}$).

I was not, therefore, so far wrong in connecting the names of +OMPΨΨΡ and OMPΥΥΡΙΞ.⁴⁵ In fact ΙΞ is the termination recalling the attribute, the quality as a member of the family of OMPΥΥΡ.⁴⁶ ΥΥ are instead of ΨΨ, and + (h) disappears after a word ending in the vowel ῥ. This letter +, at the beginning of a word, is often omitted; we do not have it in the names of ΡΡΥΡΥΟ, OPTTEIA, and ῥΚΡΤΧΜΛΡ (Αρτίρος, Υρτίος, Εκκτομνας⁴⁷). The name of Ionia and of the Ionians is ΕΙΝΕ Ξ Ιόνιεϊ, ΕΙΝΝ Ιυόνό, but once I believe I find it appear preceded by + in +ΕΙΝΝΨ = *λήγιοναχό* (South. I. 24). We have likewise: ΡΧΜΑ ΠΡΨΧ ΧΡ⁴⁸ = *επταμοσάταχθοα* ('eight' pieces of the effigy of Hermes)? ΡΧΜΡ = +ΡΧΜ, *hermet*, and +ΡΧΜΥ or +ΡΧΜΝ, *hermónó*, "an Hermean coin,"⁴⁸ (in the accusative singular) in the same manner as ΡΙΡΕ, elsewhere completed +ΡΙΡΕ = *επ*⁴⁹.

How is the passing of *r* into a guttural *κ* or *χ* to be explained? The Persians, perhaps, imported into that country their curious articulation *ura* (Zend *hr*) which, in the Greek transcriptions, is transformed into *κ* or *χ*; examples: *hvarenañh*, in Zend signifying "majesty," became *καρνος*; *waspa*, became *χασπης*; *wasá*, became *Κόσσαυ*; *wádamanush*, became *Κόουμαννος*. The Lycians would therefore first take the Ψ, up-silon consonant of the Greeks, and would make it express the *hr* of the Iranians.

Let us remark before passing to another letter that the monuments of the country (others than the Obelisk and the coins) do not use Υ or Β. No doubt but that Ψ, susceptible of many shades of pronunciation, appeared to them sufficient.⁵⁰

V. THE LETTERS Χ & Ξ.

Nothing is farther from the processes of the Semitic writing, from which the vowels are excluded, than the Lycian writing---the latter possessing, in the opinion of the most competent scholars, a system of delicate and complicated vocalization⁵¹. It has, however, groups of consonants which ought to call forth the thought, e. g., the words *χρϋχρϋϋϋ*, *χττbadí*, *χρbbli*: but all regarded those as peculiarities, and no one imagined before Hübschmann⁵², that the Χ of the name of ΤΡΧΜΕΛΕ (= "Lycian"), and the Ξ of the final syllable so frequent ΙΞ or ΨΞ (Ιόνι ΨΞ) were consonants. An advance towards the truth was made by Schmidt⁵³, who thought he could clear up everything by admitting that *χ* represented *ain* and Ξ *in*. Dr. Deecke, by accepting a suggestion of M. Six, has agreed with Hübschmann that the so-

called *nasal vowels* of Schmidt and Savelsberg are *consonants*, or, to borrow his own expression, *nasale sonanteu*. I enter so thoroughly into these new views that I would not admit the existence of such vowels as *au*, *au*, except in the case where many examples would constrain me, and I abandon the false track upon which I had proceeded before with respect to the readings *on*, *on*, *oun*, which I attributed too readily to the characters which occur so frequently, Ψ , \downarrow , ∇ . However, without conceding to the author of the *Essay on the Alphabet and Language of the Lycians*, his transcription by *in* of the sign Ξ , we cannot deny that when that consonant is followed (and this is often the case) by another consonant, either does not demand any vowel, ($\text{MEAP-}\Psi\downarrow\Xi\text{TP}\downarrow$ = "Milasóntró," *Μελεσανόρον*⁵¹), or if it is impossible without that to make itself heard, it calls into the pronunciation the vowel *i*, to the exclusion of all others, ($\Psi\Xi\text{T}\downarrow\text{NOB} + \downarrow$ = *Κινωνοβου*). Similar is the case with **X**, whose inherent vowel, when it must be pronounced, is *a*, which proves the bad reading of the word TPX-MEAE , from which has come the word *Τραμβηλος*. Reserving these facts, we always write Ξ *n̄* and **X** *m̄*.

I prefer to the little ring below used by M. Deecke to distinguish **N** (*n*) from Ξ (*n̄*) and **M** (*m*) from **X** (*m̄*), the dash above, *n̄*, *m̄*. I rest on the traditions of the typography which represents in this way either the redoubled *m* of the Fr. *hom̄e*, or Lat. final of *verū, potentē, hominē* (*m*). The Parisinus MS., XIIth century, used this method, for example, in folio 114, verso, l. 10 from the bottom, he writes $\epsilon\xi\kappa\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ the word *εξικωνται*.

This is why we write the name of the dynast opposed to king Pericles $\text{PPTTOX}\downarrow\text{PPP}$ "*Arttumpara*," and the name of $\text{P}\Xi\text{NOT}\downarrow + \text{P}\eta\text{nuteh}$ (*Πνοτου*).⁵⁸ In kidding himself of the vocalic transcription of Schmidt, Dr. Deecke has been joyfully surprised to meet, on our precious Obelisk, this original page of the history of Asia Minor, the mention of the satrap Tissapherne, $\text{KEIIP}\downarrow\text{P}\Xi\text{NP}$, "*Kizapruna*."

Likewise $\text{P}\text{PN}\Xi\text{P}$, the city of Xanthus, was not *Arina*, but *Arūno* that is to say, the old Pelasgian *Apnos* (in the neuter plural) *Apna*.⁶⁰

NOTES.

28) *New Lyk. Stud.* p. 71. *Commentatio de inscriptionibus nonnullis Lyciis* (Lipsiæ, 1876.) p. 17: "Neque urbis sed hominis nomen latet in scriptura aliorum nummorum margines circumeunte $\text{TOYNHGOPH--OYN-}\downarrow\text{PO--}$, quam ad *Athenagoram* referendam esse non negabunt, qui in obelisco *Athenas* ATOYNAI dici meminerint." There is some difficulty in admitting here not a Greek name, since one Lycian prince was the king *Περικλης* (*Perikle*) of some monuments, and of Theopompus, but particularly

the name of *Athenagoras*; the ethnich of *Athens* and of *Athenian* has always for the first letter the vowel **ϕ** and for third the vowel **ϝ**, which (as we shall see later on) is in no way to be confounded with **Ϟ**. I have for my part believed myself able to correct (!) **Ι** to the **Τ** of the name of **ΤϞΝΙΟΡϞ**, so as to find there the name of *Zηναιγῶρας* the *Ξεναιγῶρας* of Pliny and of the *Stadiasmus*. The *Ξεναιγῶρον νῆσοι* (Pliny, V. 35, *Stud.* § 218) a group of eight small islands off the coast of Lycia, would preserve the name of that dynast. Texier identifies the present island of Volo, 36° 13' lat N. by 29° 27' E. with the principal of those islands. The first part of the name *Ξεναιγῶρας* is nothing else than the epithet *Ξεινιος* of Zeus, and can be completely exchanged with the name of the god *Zην-* (in the oblique cases.) M. Six, who has carefully examined the legend on the coin No. 101 has not accepted my way of looking at it; "**ΤϞΝΙϞΟΡϞ** is complete, he says, it is there really and only **Τ**." It remains to be seen whether, after the example of the Cretans, who said **ΤΤΗΝΑ** for *Zηνα*, the name of Zeus was not among the Lycians **ΤϞΝ**.

29) *Monnaies Lyciennes*, p. 176 (51) No. 178: "**ϞΡΡϞΕ** appears to have been put for **ϞΙΡϞΕ**." The difference in the vowels puts me on my guard against that identification.

30) To this author, the absence of the upsilon in the Lycian writing (an unfounded proposition) would be a mark of high antiquity. "It is especially worthy of notice as an indication of date that *upsilon*, which appears in the earliest of the Thera records, is not found in the Lycian Alphabet which has only the oldest of the Greek vowels, **Α Ε Ι Ο**. Hence it may be concluded that the formation of the Lycian Alphabet belongs to a period more remote than any of which we possess direct epigraphic knowledge." Dr. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet; an Account of the origin and development of letters*, London, 1883, 2 vols. 8vo. vol. ii, p. 118 When shall it be understood that each language has treated alphabeti writing in its own method, and that the fact of having or not having such a character gives us no authority to determine the date of its formation. Latin has no longer *ϕ*, but replaces it by **F**; it has the Athenian letter **Η** pure aspirated, without vocalisation *ή ή*. In the same manner Lycian has taken **Ο** for *υ*, and a letter with a double upsilon, **Ϟ**, for *οῦ*. The epigraph texts are there to testify against the theory of the extreme antiquity of this writing, and this alphabet is a clever elaboration of grammarians living at a period of high intellectual culture.

31) Schmidt has arranged in plate *B* which accompanied his *Essay on the Alphabet and Language of the Lycians* (The Lycian Inscriptions after Schonborn's Copies, Jena, 1868), two tables presenting the letters which are redoubled and those after which the reduplication takes place. He is convinced by the view of this mechanism that the reduplication obeys certain laws.

32) Obel. Obel. north, 57. gives **ΚΕΕΕ ϞϞΟΟΤΙΤΟ**.---Limyra, 4. **ΔΔΡΡϞΡΡΡΤΡΤ** + Antiphellus 1, **ΚΕΕΕ ϕϞϞ**. These examples are perhaps nothing but mistakes on the part of the stone engraver.

33) Prof. Sayce is of an opinion opposed to mine regarding the reading of **ϞϞϞϞ** which appears to him to be: *ιῶ*, "as is shown by the Lycian equivalent of the Greek name *Πυβιαλης*." (*The Karian language and inscriptions*, p. 20). I explain otherwise the transcription **ΠϞβ**

of the bilingual text. See on this letter, Savelsberg's *Beiträge*, I, pp. 17 & ff.

34) *Arppaxias*, *Arppaxah* (North, 58, South, 25, Obel.); *Sppartazi*, *Sppart*-Obel. East, 27, 64); *Zrppeduni* (Obel. West, 6) *Zrppedeime* (*Σαρπηέειον* ? West, 46); *Krzonase* (Obel. South, 48. Cf. with the Phrygian *Atanizen kurzanezon*, Texier's *Asie Mineure*, I pl. 59). *Parzza* (Obel. North, 2, 14). We may add to these *χssadrapa*, *χssadrapatu* (gen.-plural = *ξσαρπησ* (Xanthus 5, and Obel. East, 26); *sttrat[αχα]*, Obel. East, 18; *sttalu στηλη* ? (ibid. North 5, 7)

35) p. 23. $\Psi\text{PP}\downarrow\text{E}$ became $\text{N}\text{P}\text{P}\downarrow\text{E}$, p. 47. $\downarrow\text{I}\text{E}\Psi\text{P} +$ becomes $\Psi\text{I}\text{E}\text{N}\text{P} +$ p. 74.

36) E. g., Xanthus, 3 and 4.

37) Obel. east, 14. Dr. Deecke, who has shown that the plural genitive was $\text{I} + \text{E}$, $\text{P} + \text{E}$ (*ehi, ahi*), in the 2nd part of his *Lykische Studien* (Bezzenger's Beiträge, xii pp. 315—340), makes the following remark on this word: "*Naurathe* (= *nar'urahi*) von einem ml. nominativ *nauroa*, wohl entlehnt aus dor *ναυρος* (eig. *ναυφορος*), att. *ναυρός*. *νεωρισφυλαξ*, (Heyschios) aber wohl auch = *ναυαρχος*: . . .

$\text{I}\text{I}\text{N}\text{P}\downarrow\text{OPP} + \text{E}$: $\text{O} . . . \text{BBE}$: TPO / II

"und von schiffsaufschern (resp. schiffscapitänen oder admiralen) den" p. 328.

38) Savelsberg, *Beiträge*, &c., pp. 216 and 217 (tome ii. 1878).

39) Six has had the great honour of solving the problem as to the name of the son of Harpagos, *χερει*, (*Monnaies Lyciennes*, R.N., 1887, p. 5, and Reprint, p. 88. He admits provisionally *χαίρις* as the Greek form of that name. Deecke uses the reading *καρεις* in his short but substantial article *zur Deutung der Stèle Xanthica* ('Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift', 30 June, 1888, column 828). But I have never been able to follow Six's example, in his private correspondence on this subject, and to philosophically accept, as regard these particular letters, that orthography which necessitates the admission of a ξ in the Greek epigram of 390 B.C., and an ending *-ις*, rendering the Lycian syllable "oi" ΨE . It appears to me, (and I am glad to be able to add to Dr. Deecke himself today,) preferable to adopt *καρεις*, which the poet would have caused to enter his verse under the contracted form of *κρεις*. This author, in fact has shortened certain words: in his 2nd verse he writes *ἀνεθικεν*, in the 4th *ἀυτων*, in the 5th *ἐπεμψαντο*. In another study I shall give an explanation of this reading *Κρῆς*.

40) *Monnaies Lyciennes*, R. N., 1887, p. 3; Reprint, p. 87.—Here is now the whole inscription: for commentaries the reader is desired to have recourse to tome II of Savelsberg, pp. 211, 212, and 213, and to the *Commentatio de Columna Xanthica* of Moritz Schmidt, Jena, 1881, and to Six's last and decisive treatises which I have so often quoted. Verse 6, *χερει παλαν*, a good restoration by Dr. Deecke.

E]ξ ou τ' *Ευρέπιη* [A] *σίας ἐίχα πόν[τ]ος ἐνε[ι]αις*,
 a] *εἰς πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάνδε ἀνέθηκεν*,
ἑὼδεκα θεῶς ἀχορᾶς ἐν καθαρῶν τεμ[ν]ει
νικ]έων καὶ πολέμονημα τόδε ἀθάντων.

Κρη]ίς ἑὶ ἐὶ Ἀπάριον υἱὸς ἀριστέσιος τὰ ἄπ[α]ν[τ]α
χ[ε]ρσὶ πάλην Λυκίων τῶν τότε ἐν ἡλικίαι,
π[ο]λλὰς ἐὶ ἀκροπόλις ἐν Ἀθηναίαις πτολιπόρθ[ω]ν
π[ε]ρσας, συνγενέσιον ἑὼκε μέρος βασιλείας
 O] *χάριν ἀθανάτοισι ἀπεμψαντο ἐικαίαν.*

ἐπιτὸ ἐε ὀπλίτας κτείνεν ἐν ἡμέραι Ἀρκάδας ἀνέρας.

Ζητὸ ἐε π(λ)ε[ι]στα τροπαία β[ρ]οτών[η]ρ[η]εν ἀπάν[τ]ων
καλλιστοῖς ἑέρργοις Κα[ρ]ύκα γένος ἐστεφάνωσε[ν].

The first verse is also the beginning of the epigram attributed to Simonides and whose object is to celebrate the victory of Cimon over the Persians at the mouth of the Eurymedon (Diodorus XI, 62. *Anthol.* VII. 296). Some reminiscences of this piece reappear from time to time.

41) Obelisk, South, l. 12.

42) See the genealogy of the Xanthian princes, such as M. Six believes he can arrange it, p. 3, n.x., 1887; Reprint, p. 86. It has a very slender point of support in the translation of the word *χῆταφάτα*.

43) Deecke attributes to this word the sense of "verwandter" (*Lyk. Stud.* II, 1886, p. 322). The phrase of Pinar 2 has since appeared to M. Six to signify "he (the defunct) was hyparch of Perikles" *αὐτὸ χῆταφάτα Perikleh.*—This translation will lessen the number of the descendants of *χερὶ χε'* and of Pericles, and will give us, in return, some names of high functionaries.

44) Six only knew, in 1886, a coin of Ψ ΑΩΕΥΑ described at No. 72 of his monograph. Her namesake, the prince Ψ ΙΡΕΥΨ is better known; we have two coins of his, Nos. 132 and 134. Some feminine names exist in Ψ as well as in Π, *Znube* and *Ufiute*, Limyr, 22; see Savelsberg, p. 99, t. 11). In Π, we have the princess Ψ ΙΙΕΥΨ (=Κοσσοικη?), wife of *χεαρι* (Obael, South, 26). I have asked myself on this subject if one of the ancestors of this *χεριε'α* could not have taken the same name as her descendant, and consequently if Herodotus' mention of *Κυβερνισκος Σικε* would not break up into *Κυβερνισ Κοσσοικα*[ς] = *Kuprlli*, son of the lady *χεριε'α* VII, 98? It is wiser not to involve ourselves too much beforehand in this labyrinth.—As to the reading Α=Ψ, it is that frees the text of Talmisus called "*The Carian Inscription*" by Beaufort, its discoverer, and Walpole, its first editor. This text follows another Lycian writing, where Ψ is replaced by Α or Α, Ψ by Ψ, Ν by W, Ψ by Ω. Nothing is proved but that these inscriptions may be less ancient than those of Xanthus.

45) Note 20, p. 217 B. of *O. R.*, 1888. Dr. Deecke admits my identification of +OMPΨΨΑ with Amorges, the son of the satrap Pissuthnes, and he appears to take into consideration the meaning I attach to the word OMPYΨΨΙΞ (*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 30 June, 1888, Column 828).

46) This termination ΙΞ as Schmidt has shown in *Lyk. Stud.* of 1879, expresses the ethnich, it is true; but such cannot be the case in the proper names of Hystaspes, Karikas and Amorges. These expressions, extremely restricted in number, could not point out all that belongs to the person named Hystaspes, his riches, his people, and his children. The suffix *-zi* never takes the place of the phrase 'son or daughter of such an one'; in such circumstances, it is always said *Αρπαχὺλ ἰδεῖμι* = *Ἀρὰτος υἱός*. Afterwards, neither *Kuprlli* nor *Harpagos* are seen to have their names joined together at the termination in question, because neither *Harpagos* nor *Kuprlli* have been eponymous ancestors of those princely families of the Vth century.

47) The name of *Ἐκατορνως* is curious; Savelsberg (II, 161) and Deecke (*Lyk. Stud.* i, p. 133) believe it to be a pure Greek formation, and

signifying "a hundred minas," as a promise of the father of the child to a divinity. The grandfather of Iyamara, the possessor of the tomb of Rhodiopolis, would have promised "three sigles" for the birth of a son, who thenceforth was named "Terssiχli." Each acts according to his pecuniary resources.

48) Hermes, recognizable with the winged *petasus*, is figured on a small number of coins, whether anonymous, Nos. 199, 200, or of the reigns of Pesiχsere (196, 197), Haruma (198), and Pericles (266); sometimes the wand appears. Moritz Schmidt presented already in the name *rimmazatuχθθα*, a name of a divinity (Essay on the Alphabet, pl. v. a.) Deecke first isolated the word *αχθθα*=octo, Indian *ashtān*. Gothic *ahtau*, 8;—there the word *zata*, which he compares with the Sanskrit *hatá*, "struck," infinitive *han*; this participle is united to another word, *uha* (*uha-zata*) where he discovers *uha*="gold," and what is perhaps the Lycian name of Apollo *Λυκίος*. There remains (*h*) *rimma*, which cannot be the Sanskrit *rāma* (dunkelfarbig), for the *m* (**X**) followed by *m* is nothing but the reduplication of *m*, and the vowel is pronounced before the *r*, as *Kuprilli*=*Κυβερεις*, *Przza*=*Parça*, *Krzzónase*=*Χερσονήσος*, &c. (See under the word *rimmazata-θθα*, Deecke, *Lyk. Stud.* ii, p. 326). The word is found in Limyra 36, and under the form +**PXM**ϣ, +**PXM**ϣ, in Sura and Rhodiopolis. This coin appears to have been one of the least ancient; in the time of the Obelisk, the highest favour was given to the pieces presenting the goddess Athênê.

49) Limyra 19. l. 3. *rrppi etli chbi*="for himself." Although the usual form has been *hrppi*, still it is not complete, and this is the only tomb of Cadyanda I, which renders it *hrppi*. This termination *ai* is that of the Greek words *ῥπαί, παπαί, καταί*. The *pp*, owing to the rule as to the reduplication after *r* are resolved into a single *p*, and *pi* or rather *pai* is the same enclitic as the Cypriote *πα=παί*; compare the Latin *pe* in *nempe quippe* (from *quid-pe*). *Hr* is nothing but the bare preposition *hri*=Greek *ῥο*. Sanscrit *prá*, French *pour*, English *for*. *Hrppi* governs the dative. Deecke, *Lyk. Stud.*, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, xii, pp. 316 and 322, xiii, 268.

50) This is the list of the words where the letter **V** is found:—1, Obelisk, South, *χeric'áhe*, l. 5; *eric'*, l. 25; *χeric'ah*, l. 26; West, *χeric'azō*, l. 19; *χeric'ázñ*, l. 45; *lav'ótu*: l. 60; East, *se nar'wahí*, l. 14; *χur'ahu*: l. 58; North, *χeric'a* l. 38; *umr'r'ázñ*, l. 50; *χeric'a*: l. 51; *eric'ali*, ll. 51 52; East: *nar'u*, l. 22; West: *χur'asi*, l. 67; South, *zar'aba*, l. 37; East, *r'aroi*, l. 62; North, *emuaχar'ó*, l. 4. 2nd, Coins, **SX**'s Catalogue, *Tonar'ure*, Nos. 100, 101, 102; *χeric'a*: No. 132; *χeric'e*, No. 172; *arñmahé-χeric'a*, No. 184. *Zor'* and *zar'aha*, Nos. 261 and 262. *Uχuχa* (with vowel ϣ origin of ϣ=ó?) No. 89; *ukur'*, No. 92. 3rd, Indistinct, Obel. South, l. 1; and Coins, Nos. 103 and 177.

51) Fr. Lenormant, article *Alphabetum* in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines de Saglio and Daremberg*,—Is. Taylor, The Alphabet, 1883, t. II, p. 111.

52) In the *Jenar Literaturzeitung*, a severe criticism of the *Beiträge* of Savelsberg, 1st Feb. 1879, article 61, No. 5.—This scholar adopts for **M** *m*. and **X=M**; **N=n** and **Ξ=N**. He writes **ΨΞΤΓΝΟΒ**ϣ+ "*χNdānuβüh*." He has also proposed for the Ze nd a bizarre transcription where the Greek letters are set side by side with the Latin.

53) *Essay on the Alphabet*, pp. v b and vi. **KPTXMA**ϣ *Εκατομνα*, conduces almost to the result of attributing to **X** the value of *ου. ημ*.

54) *Nasale Sonanten im Lykischen*, band XIII, 1887, of *Beiträge* directed by Bezzenberger, pp. 132-139.

55) Ewald falls into this error when, in the course of his account given of Schmidt's researches, *Götting. gelehrt Anzeigen*, 1868, he presented a new letter \mathfrak{V} , which he read *un*.

56) This is a discovery of my learned friend, M. Six, who has been good enough to communicate it to me by letter on 12th January last. The final \mathfrak{J} indicates the accusative. Melesandros would be this Athenian general sent into Lycia in 430, to raise contributions and to oppose the Peloponnesian pirates. He penetrated into the country, but he was conquered in an engagement, and perished with portion of his army (Thucydides, ii, 69). The events related on the Obelisk can now, thanks to those different circumstances, be limited to a very restricted period (nearly twenty years, 430-410).

57) Stephen of Byzantium has spelled the name $\text{Τρεμίλη} (\text{Τρεμίλη} \eta \lambdaοκία \acute{\epsilon}καλειτο οὕτως. \text{Οἱ κατακουντες Τρεμίλεις ἀπὸ Τρεμίλου. Edit. Meinecke, Berlin, 1849, s. verbo, Menekrates, apud Antonin Liberal called Τρεμελις (-γη) which removes it still further from the name Τρυμβηλος which has perhaps another etymology. We find the ethnich of Τερμεσσος which confirms my reading *ep*, in + ΡΧΜΕ ' (Trumisiñ).$

58) Deecke, *Nasale Sonanten im Lykischen*, p. 134, t. xiii of the *Bezzenberger's Beiträge* (1887). Likewise ΡΑΔΡΑ ΜΡ is not *Padramma*, but *Pad(a)rñma* as Ἡθόρρμος the Phoecean, Herod. l. 152. Ρ has not always the clear sound: it is sometimes the Swedish \tilde{a} : ΤΑΡΡΡ only becomes *Tlæs* in the condition of being pronounced $\text{Τλᾶνᾶς, Τλᾶφος, Τλᾶος}$.

59) It is not only the name Τισσαφέρης which is revealed to the sagacious philologist (North, 11, 14, 15): there is also the name of Pharnabazus, son of Pharnakes, in a line which he has been obliged, unfortunately, to complete: *Prñna[baza: Prñnaka]he: tudeimi: se parzza xñde,..... = Pharnabazus, Pharnake's son and Persian prince.*—Deecke, *zur Deutung der Stele Xanthica*, Berliner philologische Wochenchrift, 30 June, 1888, col. 828. M. Six thinks that *xñde* answers to $\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{N}$, the title of the Phœnician and Cypriote kings.

60) Ἄπρα (plural like Ἄθρηαί): $\text{πόλις Λυκίας ὄπως ἤΞάνθος ἔκαλειτο...}$ Stephen of Byzantium, p. 123-12, (edit. Meineke, Berlin, 1849). I omit the explanation which geography gives, according to which a certain Arnos, a sort of *genius loci*, was defeated in that very place. In a thousand districts, legends quite similar are recounted. M. Leake has well seen that *Apra* was a geographical term dating back to the Pelasgians and without connection with the *Airyana Vaez'a* "the Aryan semen", (*Trans. of the Royal Soc. Lit.*, 2nd series, vol. II, p. 35, note 9,---1847.) The indigenous name has remained in the name of the village of Fornas where the agha resides, about six miles from the coast, at $36^{\circ} 18'$ lat. North by $29^{\circ} 26'$ long. East. We see by this that the name was pronounced with a certain breathing, or rather a prolonging of *a* before ΡΞΝ (*Arna*). That *Fornas* would be the existing form of the Lycian *Arñna* is what can scarcely be doubted. Likewise the Letoum, converted into a Christian basilica, βασίλικη still called *Basalool*.

J. IMBERT.

(To be continued.)

MAN HAN SI-FAN TSYEH-YAO,
A BUDDHIST REPERTORY
IN SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MANDCHU, MONGOL & CHINESE.
(Continued from p. 266).

SECTION IV (continued).


73. *Çrithulolāta*: with very beauteous brow. T. *Dbu cin tu rgyas pa* with very powerful head. M., head worthy of great praise. Ch. lofty an handsome. H. *prthul*, broad.
74. *Suparipāryōttamāṅga*: with head well rounded (full) on all sides. T. *Dbu skra buñ ba ltar gnag pa*, with hair black as the *buñba* stone (a black stone). M. Ch., with lapis-lazuli-coloured hair.
75. *Citrakēça*: with hair of beautiful hue. T. *Dbu skra stug pa*: with thick hair. Ch., id. M., with hair fine and serried.
76. *Çlakshyakēça*: with fine and soft hair. T. *Dbu skra 'jam pa*, id. H., *Guhyakēça*, with hair hidden.
77. *Apañtatākēça*²⁶: with hair loose, not confined or entangled. T. *Dbu skra mi 'dzin pa*, with hair not confined. M., not in disorder. H., *Asaṅgūta-k*, same meaning.
78. *Apatuṣakēça*: whose hair has nothing unsightly or repulsive. T. *Dbu skra mi bcor pa*, do., not tough or ugly. Ch., without dust or displeasing stain. Mg., *sirukun boso*.
79. *Sarabhikēça*: with perfumed locks. T., *Dbu skra z'im pa*, id.
80. *Çricarpasrastikamātjārartadālītapāyīpada*: whose hands and feet are adorned with the ever-turning *svastika*, symbol of happiness.²⁸ T., *Phyag dañ zabs dbal gyi beu (?) dañ bkra-çis dañ gyon-drun 'klojil bas pa rgyan-pa*, having for ornament at the end of the feet and hands the turning *svastika* inscribed thereon. M., on his hands and feet, with beautiful lines a sign of happiness is ever sealed. Ch., On his hands, feet and breast a sign of happiness indicating efficacious virtues, and of admirable beauty, is traced.

NOTES.

25) *Çritha*, a word peculiar to one book (*prthū*?).


26) Read *apañtatā*, from *luṭ*, a peculiar form.

27) *Apatuṣa*. The Ch. seems to suppose *apa-tuṣa*, free from dust. Hodgson, *aparashu*, not rough, or rude.

28) An extraordinary and corrupted form. *Ārīvarpa* (?) artistic, or fortunate, form of appearance.—*Natyārcarta* is perhaps *Nitya ārcarta*, perpetual circular motion; or else *nātyārcarta*, wheeling round, a dance movement. This movement is often taken in Sk. as a term of comparison, for a motion to be praised, e. g. of a war-chariot managed with skill. The word *Seastika*, the celebrated Buddhist and Hindu cross  is nowhere transcribed, but always translated according to its meaning. *Su asti*, 'bene est,' a sign of luck. The T. has *phug*, which, it seems to me, ought to be corrected to *phyag*, from a consideration of the text—*Beu* is corrected from *peu*, and taken in a conjectural sense, for *beu* is a book,—Hodgson has for the last two terms:—

79. *Ārīratsamuktikanandiyata*.

80. *Vartulacihuitapāyīpādatal*.

The L. V. has a text which may help us to correct this reading into "with hands and feet adorned with the *ārīvatsa*, *svastika nandy-ārīvta*". The first is the mystic sign of Vishnu, , of good omen; and the third, *nandyārcasta*, is a sign of the same value, representing a snail, whose coils unroll from left to right. Another form also is given to it, as may be seen in the *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, p. 626.* The L. V. frequently collects together in one various qualificatives from the other lists. On the other hand it has several terms not found elsewhere: *asitabhṛā* with black eyebrows *arīshomagaṇḍā*, with cheeks quite equal, *vṛjapagatagaṇḍalōsha*, with cheeks whence all stains have disappeared; *anupātahātakrushā*, of unabated wrath, which must be a misreading; *surīdītāndriya*, *suparipūrācūndriya*, whose senses are well filled, or constituted; *sangātamukhalalāṭa*, whose brow and face meet well together. The Pāli has in addition *kētumāla*, with a beam of light as a crown.

SECTION V.

Stobs beuhī mīn la.—*Fucihī jwan hōsun i gehn*.—Names of the ten powers¹ of Buddha.

1. *Sthānāsthānājñānabalam*². T. *gnas dan gnas ma jin pa mkhyen pa stobs*: power of knowing what is in place, and what is not. Ch. id. M. what is just, and what is unjust. Knowledge of true and false proportions.
2. *Karmaripākajñānab³*. knowledge of the fruit of results of human actions. T. *las kyi rnam par smin pa mkhyen ḡc*, knowledge of the complete maturity of actions. M. Mg. Knowledge of fitting retribution. Ch. of the merits of acts.
3. *Vīcraḡradhājñānab⁴*. Knowledge of all desires⁴. T. *mos pa sna t'sogs mkhyen*. ḡc. of all kinds of desires. Ch. of desires.

* So several others which the Buddhists pretend to see in the imprint of Buddha's foot.

4. *Nānādhātujñāna*^b. Knowledge of all elements. T. *Khoms su t' sojs m.* of all elements. M. of all foundations.
5. *Indriyaparāpitrājñāna*^c. Knowledge of the superior and inferior senses. T. *Dbar po mcoj dañ mcoj myiu pa m.* id. Md. id. Ch. of all foundations, or roots.
6. *Sarvadhyānīvimokshasamādhisanāpattisāñjāna*^{b6}. Knowledge of the means of arriving by meditation at the contemplation which produces deliverance. T. *Sñoms par hjug pa m.* Knowing how to enter into equanimity. M. into silent equanimity. Ch. into evenness and immobility of soul.

NOTES.

1) The corresponding Sk. term must have been *jñānabalam*, intellectual power, faculty of knowledge.

2) Cf. Burnouf, *Lotus* &c, 783. This term may also signify: Knowledge of what is durable or permanent, and what is not.

These 10 articles indicate the principal points of doctrine and the principal objects of knowledge with the Buddhists; but they are not arranged in logical order, the compilers not having reasoned the matter so far out. These kinds of knowledge are perfect in Buddha; they form one of his essential privileges.

We have first of all the fundamental principle of Ethics, viz., the just, the true, or that of the nature of existences,—the unstable; next the *Karma* with its fruits, the sources of all individual existences and of all evils. Then comes the fruit or the cause of acts,—desires, elementary beings produced by *Karma*: the senses which are evolved in the individual being and help it to know:—reflexion and contemplation which aid it in escaping from its miserable present state, as soon as its miseries are clearly known, and in disengaging itself from the latter; the cause of these miseries in anterior births; the succession of these births; lastly, the manner of ending the current of evils and existence, and of attaining Nirvāna. This *āvara* is analogous to the *srōtas*, seen elsewhere in *srōtāpanna*, 'involved in the current' (Section XX), though in technical Buddhist parlance it applies specially to faults.

3) *Vipāka*, perfect maturity (lit. 'cooking'), fruit, consequence of good and evil actions.

4) *Craddha* here is not faith or belief, but desire, if we may believe the versions. They must be right, for there is question of principles, not of facts. Burnouf's opinion does not appear to us tenable.

5) *Parāpara*, principal and secondary, superior or inferior, i. e. the intellectual and material senses. See Sec. xxviii, xxxiv.

6) *Dhyāni* is the abstract contemplation of the soul, which seeks to disengage itself from all objective or subjective conception, in order to arrive at the state of internal void, i. e. at the annihilation of all perception, reflexion, will or appetite. *Samādhi* is the condition of the soul when arrived at the state wherein it is entirely applied to its object (the Void) and has attained it: (*Sam-ā-dhā*=to apply oneself to, be applied to, with a concentration of all the forces). This is indicated by the Ch. versions *cheng ting*, meaning the state of well-established and immovability.

t'ang-shi, the sense of which is a complete application to which one is entirely given up. The meanings given by Eitel "self-application" and "correct tranquillity" are inadequate. *Samāpatti* is immersion in a thought or contemplation. *Samādhi*, properly so called, is complete ecstasy in void. These perfect kinds of knowledge belong to the Buddha, but the faithful may participate in them.

Burnouf puts all these terms in apposition, which does not seem so good. C. DE HARLEZ.

(To be continued).

A TALMUDIC QUESTION TO PROF. J. OPPERT.

AMONG other peculiarities interesting to archeology, the Talmud of Jerusalem explains, after its fashion, the origin of certain celebrated days in the Pagan world. In the treatise *Abāda zara*, ch. I, § 2 (fol. 39 of the Venice edition, French translation, t. xi, in the press, p. 182) we read these words:

"Rab. says: The feast of the Kalends takes place eight days before the winter solstice, and that of the Saturnalia eight days after. R. Johanan says: The feast of the Tropic *τροπικος* occurs at the beginning of the springtime or of the equinox. R. Aba says: There are three idolatrous festivals at Babylon, and three others in Media. The three festivals of Babylonia are called: *מִזְהָרִי* Mohuri, *כְּנוּמִי* Conumi, and, *כְּנוּתָה* Convetah. The three festivals of Media are: *נוּסַרְדִּי* Nussardi, *תִּירוּיָסְקִי* Teriaski, and *מִזְהָרְנָה* (or *מִזְהָרְנָקִי* according to other editions), Meoharneki."

I have searched in vain for the meaning of these six words, and scarcely find, for the second among them, a connection to be made with the idol of the Syrians called Conoum. An Assyriologist will probably be able to find, in the course of his researches, the solution of this little problem.

In connection with this, it is well to call the attention of scholars to an obscure term in the same Talmud (tr. *Meghilla*, l. 11, trad. t. vi, f. 212:) *כתב רעק*, *heved writing*, placed in parallel with the writing called *אשור*, *Assyrian*. Is one not inclined to see there likewise a reminiscence of the cuneiform characters? It pertains to competent persons to pronounce upon it. MOÏSE SCHWAB.

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